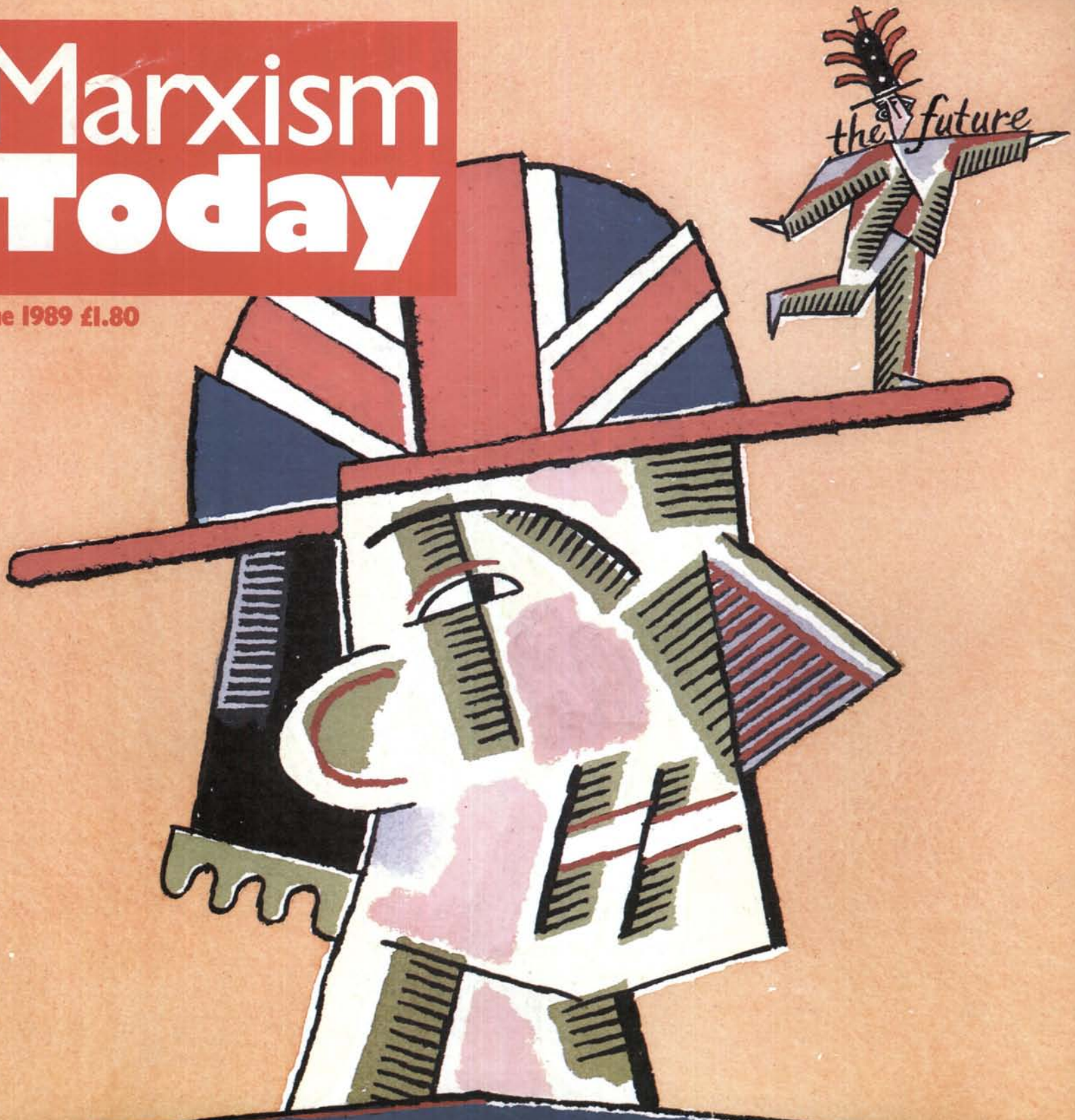
# Marxism Today

June 1989 £1.80




Kenneth Clarke interview:
The future of the NHS
Race, identity and Rushdie
The return of 007
Interview with Doris Lessing
New Age culture

# Citizens!

## What it means to be British

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WORLD WIDE TRAVEL

### SIBERIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

Special tours to Moscow and Leningrad, then flying on to the Silk Route cities of Samarkand, Bukhara Khiva and Alma Ata, combined in most cases with a visit to Irkutsk and Baikal and a journey on the Trans-Siberian railway. 20-25 days. One tour also features Novo Sibirsk and Abakan in the Syan mountains. Prices from only £545.

### U.S.S.R. TOURS

Spring listings for Leningrad, Moscow and other USSR tours now available on request. Special tours include a Women's Tour, hosted by a new women's soviet.

### SPRING TOURS TO CUBA

Group and individual holidays in Havana, Santiago de Cuba, Trinidad and the beaches of Playas del Este and Varadero. New Spanish language courses for groups and individuals at Havana Matanzas and Santa Clara universities, available throughout the academic year.

### USSR, MONGOLIA, AND CHINA TOUR

Air from London to Moscow. Train to Leningrad-Moscow. Flight to Irkutsk. Train Irkutsk, Moscow, Beijing. Flight Beijing to London Heathrow. 11th-30th July. Fully inclusive tour: £1390. Write or 'phone for further details.

## PROGRESSIVE TOURS FOR ALL HOLIDAYS AND TRAVEL

## *Progressive Tours Ltd.*

12 Porchester Place, Marble Arch, London W2 2BS
Telephone 01-262 1676. Telex 25135

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CONTENTS

**Theoretical and discussion journal of the Communist Party**

**Editorial Office**
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
Telephone 01 608 0265
**Editor**
Martin Jacques
**Deputy Editor**
Jane Taylor
**Production Editor**
Chris Granlund
**Focus**
Jane Taylor
**Letters**
Maria Loftus
**Culture**
Chris Granlund
**Closeup**
Julian Taylor
**Art Editor**
Mary Jane Bogue
**Cover Design:**
Esterson Lackersteen
**Illustration**
Jeffrey Fisher
**Managing Editor**
Julian Turner

**Promotions**
**Circulation Manager**
Mark Perryman
**Fundraising**
Peter Chapman

**Advertising Manager**
Tim Middleton
**Advertising Executives**
Amanda Gerrard
Paul Dreniw
Rod Laver
Jenny Moore

**Editorial Board**
Jon Bloomfield, Ros Brunt, Beatrix Campbell, Cynthia Cockburn, Tricia Davis, David Edgar, Hywel Francis, Katy Gardner, Stuart Hall, Steve Hart, Jacky Heywood, Eric Hobsbawm, Alan Hunt, Monty Johnstone, Paula Lanning, Betty Matthews, Bert Pearce, Mark Perryman, Bob Rowthorn, Vishnu Sharma, Fred Steward, Willy Thompson

**Distribution**
**Newstrade**
AGB Impress, 22-26 Farringdon Lane, London EC1R 3AU
**Bookshops**
Central Books Ltd, 14 The Leathermarket London SE1 3ER
**Subscriptions**
Infonet Marxism Today Subscriptions 5 Riverpark Estate, Billet Lane, Berkhamsted Herts HP4 1HL Tel: 04428 76661

**Subscription Rates** for one year
**Inland**
individuals £17
institutions £30, supporting subscribers £35.
**Overseas airspeeded**
individuals £30,
institutions £40

**Contributions**
The editor welcomes contributions and letters for publication in the journal. Further details if required from the editorial office. Please send SAE if you want an acknowledgement or manuscript returned. The views expressed by authors are personal and not necessarily those of the editor or the editorial board.

**Typeset**
Spencers, Artworkers
**Printed**
Birmingham Printers, Birmingham

ABC
Member of the Audit Bureau of Circulations

Published by the Communist Party
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY
© World Copyright June 1989
Marxism Today
ISBN 0026-4118
Volume 33 Number 6

FOCUS

**2**
## All Change For Europe
The coming months may see some important political shifts across Europe, suggests **Martin Kettle**

**3**
**Four Wheels Bad . . .**
Why is Britain just so cycle-unfriendly?

**3**
**High-Flying Toddlers:**
More working women means more workplace creches

**4**
**Linking Up The Left:**
**Beatrix Campbell** interviews the TGWU's **Bill Morris** on new unionism for new times

POSTMARK

**7**
**Frank Cottrell Boyce** on Liverpool after Hillsborough

LETTERS

**8**
More NHS debate, Greens, Europe and the liberal intelligentsia

FEATURES

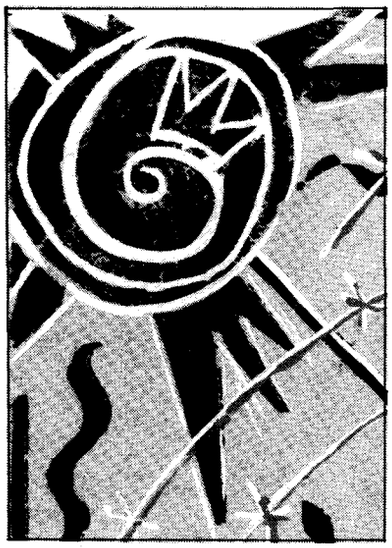
**10**
## Patient As Punter
What kind of NHS might be safe in Kenneth Clarke's hands? Under fire for his reform proposals, the secretary of state for health is interviewed by **Steve Iliffe**

**16**
## Left And Rights
Citizenship has suddenly become a hot issue. Even Mrs Thatcher feels obliged to talk of the active citizen. **Stuart Hall** and **David Held** examine the meaning of citizenship

**24**
## Identities On Parade
The *Satanic Verses* row has confounded many precious liberal principles and attitudes to ethnic rights. In conversation, **Homi Bhabha** and **Bhikhu Parekh** unravel some of the complexities

**30**
## A Whole Lot Of Health
Alternative therapies are blooming. But, argues **Rosalind Coward**, they may prove to be simply the most powerful placebo of all

CULTURE



**32**
Chorus For A New Dawn:
At summer solstice, **Neil Spencer** explains some of the mysteries of the new-age movement

**35**
Premium Bonds:
007 is back. **Sally Hibbin** explores his perennial appeal

**37**
New Tricks:
**Ian Saville,** the socialist magician

**39**
Something Else:
Why Andy Medhurst is hooked on an American tv cult

**41**
Up Front:
**David Marquand** on **Eric Hobsbawm**'s rational politics

**43**
New feminism for old; re-making plans

**45**
Choice Words:
**Doris Lessing**

CLOSE-UP

**48**
Joseph Bristow on **Julian Clary**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# All Change For Europe

Nick Kobyluch

**Voters in the European Community last elected a European Parliament in 1984. It was a very different political world from today. Five years ago in** France and West Germany, the political initiative lay with right-wing parties which advanced at the expense of disoriented social-democratic opponents. In Britain, there was a swing to Labour and the Liberal-SDP Alliance which weakened the Conservatives. And in Italy, the death of Enrico Berlinguer produced an ultimately misleading surge of emotional support for the Communist Party.

Today, the situation in each of these main countries of the EC is very different. The result is expected to be a substantial shift in the balance of power in the parliament to be elected by citizens of the 12 member states on June 15 and 18. According to one assessment, as many as 150 out of 518 MEPs will be defeated, in what is generally being paraded as a shift towards the Left, towards European integration and the programme associated with the European Commission President Jacques Delors. As the European Parliament is now armed with greater power to intervene in Community policy formation, this change could ultimately be of more than academic importance.

For the first time since the parliament became directly-elected, unifying pan-European themes have become an important feature of the campaigns in many countries. The principal stimulus for this trend is the prospect of the Single Market in 1993 (these elections are the last before that change). But, especially on the Left, the Delors plan has also served to create a more unified agenda than before.

This is reflected in the common European Socialist manifesto, signed even by the Labour Party. But it can also be seen in the integrated campaign of the green parties of Europe and in such quixotic but important gestures as David Steel's nomination by a coalition of Italian centre parties. Notably, the political sector where cross-border political co-operation is conspicuously least-advanced is on the Right. Mrs Thatcher's increasing isolationism is both cause and effect of this weakness.

The unifying trends are significant, but they are still mainly embryonic and it is important not to exaggerate them. With very few exceptions, most voters are likely to vote strictly on national political issues, and in each country the campaign is being treated as an interim verdict on domestic political parties.

Nowhere is this more importantly the case than in Germany, where the argument within Nato over short-range nuclear modernisation has come to a head because of recent provincial successes for the Social Democrats and Greens. Germany faces a decisive general election in late 1990, for which the June poll is seen on all sides as a primary.

Elsewhere, local preoccupations are even more prominent. In France, for instance, the Left's prospective gains are entirely related to the immense divisions which have opened up during the spring within the French Right, not to any particular controversy about Europe. In Holland, the vote comes just in advance of the autumn general election, caused by the failure of the centre-right coalition to agree a funding programme for new environmental measures. In Greece, it actually coincides with a general election. In Italy, it is being treated as a test of whether the Socialists are able to overtake the Communists as the main force on the Left. In Britain, interest will centre on whether the policy review is helping Labour to unite an anti-Conservative electorate.

Nevertheless, the British election will have its own particular importance which does not deserve to pass unnoticed. For the first time, voters in this country are faced with a Labour Party unequivocally committed to the British presence in Europe. Although Labour has reserved its position on two issues – the power of the European Parliament and the harmonisation of VAT – it has been an enthusiastic participant in the drafting of the common Socialist manifesto.

It is ironic, however, that just as Labour goes European, almost the last bastion of traditional nationalist anti-EECism is to be found among the Labour group of MEPs, many of whom are leftover figures from an earlier political era, protected from deselection only by bureaucratic inertia.

At the same time, following last September's Bruges



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speech, Mrs Thatcher is increasingly distancing the Conservatives from their no less traditional pro-European stance. It is a reversal which is causing *frissons* in all parties. Though it may have relatively little impact in June in an election where British turnout is unlikely to rise above 30% (approximately half the figure in other countries), Europe could become a catalytic factor in the realignment of British politics in advance of the 1991 general election. ●

*Martin Kettle*

# Roads To Ruin

**Britain's sickly car culture is at it again. Cars crashing out of windows, cars careering along twisting country roads, cars advertised on the sole grounds of being faster than a rival.**

**Cyclists and pedestrians can vouch for the everyday unpleasantness of this aggression. So do the official road-casualty statistics, whose overall decline masks the disturbing trend towards the non-motorised forming an ever-larger proportion of deaths and injuries.**

**Such worrying truths ought to be highlighted during National Bike Week in June. It is doubtful if they will. Any serious examination of the gross inequities of Britain's transport system will get short shrift.**

**Yet the traffic crisis in our urban centres is exactly the result of this imbalance. We slash public transport subsidies, give huge tax concessions to company cars – and we spend virtually nothing on the essential short-distance journeys. 74% of personal trips are under five miles, 84% under 10. Why on earth not encourage cycling?**

**In 1988 an EC research project found that, with the exception of Belgium, Britain's cyclists had the worst conditions in Western Europe. This largely explains why on average only 4% of journeys here are by cycle. Figures more than five times this are recorded on the Continent. Perhaps this explains why the air tastes sweeter in some of their cities.**

**Cycling over much of central and northern Europe is a profoundly equitable mode, open to young and old, women and men, shift-workers, shoppers and yuppie commuters. It is planned-for, encouraged, successful. Government ministers ride bikes as a matter of course, not as the occasional gimmick.**

**Meanwhile, back home transport minister Paul Channon tries to save his tattered career by working on a near-doubling of the roads programme. On your bike, minister!** ●

*Don Mathew*

# Child Care Ltd

**From June, *Company Creche* will be landing on the desks of personnel managers and training officers. The new magazine, from Corporate Image Publications,** will carry articles on the mechanics of setting up a creche, the benefits of a stable workforce and even, apparently, the moral questions of childcare. Editor Andrew Wilson anticipates he'll soon have a circulation of 5,000.

There's been a lot of hype over childcare recently. The government has decreed that employers should take responsibility for childcare facilities, and now large concerns like ICI, ICL and the major banks are drawing up impressive plans.

The Midland Bank is opening a pilot in Sheffield this summer, and aiming for 300 creches nationwide. But this, they say, will take three to four years, as it's a complex and expensive business. They hope to collaborate with local businesses and local authorities to cut costs, a model used in the London Borough of Camden, where the council, Thames TV, London Weekend and Nalgo already have a joint scheme.

But will these moves do anything more than scratch the surface? During the second world war, there were more than 1,300 nurseries looking after 62,000 children. Now, public nurseries have less than half that number of places, and cater for just 1% of under-fives.

Network

**A new tune for mums?**

If present plans are put into effect, we look set for an explosion in the number of creches. But childcare organisations fear we might also see abuses and malpractice similar to those accompanying the boom in old people's homes. Local authorities presently register and run checks on nurseries, but are hampered by staff shortages, and could not cope with extra supervisory duties. And proposals in the Children Bill aim effectively to deregulate childcare.

Some private nurseries, like the newly-opened Shepherds Bush Day Nursery, have recognised the demand for high quality care. But it comes at high-quality prices: fees run at £5,200 a year. And of course all workplace childcare is still taxed as a perk in this country. The goal of good, affordable childcare as the norm is still a long way off. ●

*Caroline Harris*

Marxism Today

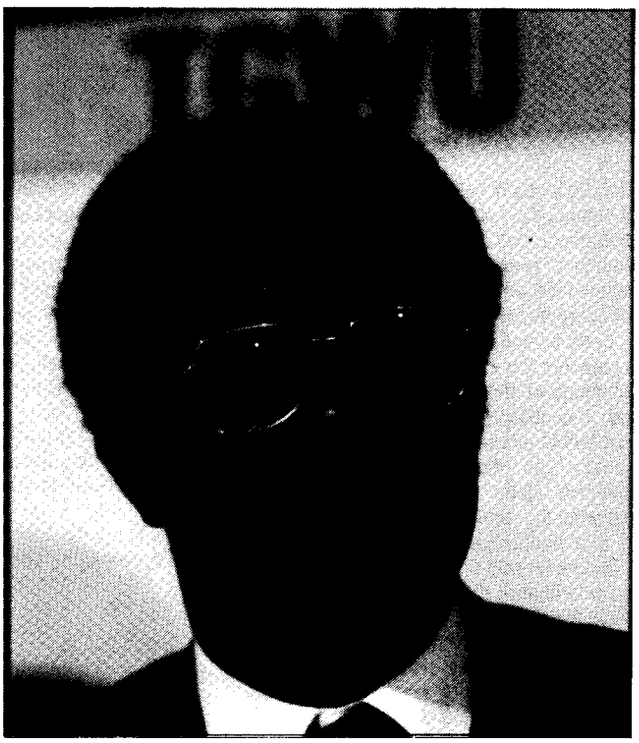
**Coming Next Month**

The contents of the July issue will include: the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution; the Labour Party Policy Review and Manifesto For New Times; **Cynthia Cockburn** on the ambiguous meaning of perestroika for Soviet women; and an interview with **Shere Hite.**

On sale: **Wed, June 28.** Order a copy from your newsagent now.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Reflex

# Linking Up The Left

**In the run-up to the Transport & General Workers' Union conference, Deputy General Secretary Bill Morris talks to Beatrix Campbell about Britain's largest union, the docks dispute and creating a modern trade unionism fit for the next century**

**You are both prominent and very visible, as the only black trade union leader at this level. What have been your main reference points over the years?**

It's a visible fact that I am the most senior black trade unionist in Britain. I am conscious of that, but it's not a problem for me. I would like to think that when people make judgments about Bill Morris they are looking at other reasons to judge me than the fact that I'm black.

**Like what?**

Well, like what I stand for, what I seek to promote and myself as a person. I've been asked to rationalise that position within the black community, but I've made it absolutely clear that my record of fighting on injustice, equality and racism, the whole liberation struggle, should put my blackness in perspective. I've not grown away from the black community, but at the same time I don't see myself as a representative of it.

**What's shaped your ideas as a socialist?**

My background was rural village community, until I was nearly 17; those were the years that shaped my thinking. You couldn't get more socialist than my community in terms of sharing and the standards and the values we set. Now, we saw people eking out a living, and they found themselves within the system of the market, quite literally, trading. The village shop was a one-person business. And nobody starved. All that was for me a brand of socialism. I was used to that sort of interchange of ideas, material things, culture, political perspective – because nearly everybody in our village supported each other and the socialist party which had just come into government in Jamaica. So I related to all that, and I haven't moved from it at all.

When I came here I found that in a Western environment the ideological divide between capital and labour was a lot sharper. But my innermost thoughts still take me back to that 'communion' constituency of my youth, in trying to come to terms with all the shifts in the Left over the last 20 years or so.

**In that context, you've been very instrumental in the T&G's 'Link-Up' campaign. How successful has that been, not just in recruiting members, but in changing the *culture* of the union?**

I think that the campaign's presence has been felt. Because Link-Up within the T&G is no longer measured in terms of recruitment . . .

**Was it before?**

Well, to be fair, yes, that's where we started from. We developed three dynamics: firstly, consolidating our recruiting position in our existing strongholds, second, creating opportunities for the new areas, and third, developing the concept of community trade unionism. I feel quite passionately that the community is very important.

New recruitment areas offered a tremendous challenge. It had to be shown that there was no contradiction between part-time workers and so-called permanent workers, because they could be played off against each other.

And then we found out that even when people were won to the argument, we didn't understand clearly how to service those we recruited! So we had to bridge that gap, linking the industrial with the political, like putting screening facilities for breast and cervical cancer on to the collective bargaining agenda. By doing that you are dealing with women's health at work and also highlighting the inadequacy of the NHS. You are saying to employers that they must pick up their responsibility as part of a community, and you are putting the economic argument that if people go down to the hospital where there's a lousy queue and they've lost a day's work, that's 20% of their earning potential for the week gone.

We're not going to abandon the 35-hour week, we'll campaign like hell to reduce working time. But there's nothing sacred about it. Let's talk about a reduced working year, and those who want to having an aggregate saving of hours to go to Australia, Asia or the West Indies to do interesting things, or those who want to, doing a sabbatical.

But then we have to find an agenda that is relevant to the temporary and part-timers. That's where we have developed all our arguments about the 'new agenda' like women's health at the workplace, safe transport, training, re-training, childcare, career breaks etc. And apart from that we have managed to look at things that were taboo before: issues of race and sex discrimination or sexual harassment at work.

Our new Phase Two of Link-Up has three main strands: training, health and safety and equal opportunities. There is no negotiator in Britain today who can say training is not relevant, whether you're in an office with high technology or the mining industry. We've been able to relate all this to privatisation, the shift of jobs from the public sector into the private sector and what that means for our members.

**What should the union's response be to the inevitability of privatisation?**

The emphasis has to shift from an argument just about ownership to being also about regulation, control, quality. How the consumer and the workers in the industry can have a real say rather than just the sterility of share ownership, whether it's



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

state or non-state.

**That links us to the docks dispute. How far, given what you've just said, should the unions take responsibility for modernisation? What room for manoeuvre is there for unions to take the initiative in modernising the way certain services or spheres are organised?**

I want to respond to that in the wider context. We've got to make our minds up whether we see ourselves as merely reacting to events, or whether we can see a wider responsibility. It seems to me we should at all times be prepared to be initiators, proactive, rather than reactive. We have missed opportunities because we've limited our horizons purely to pay and conditions and not thought with sufficient vision about the future and what role we want to play.

**What comes to mind is the way it is emerging that in all these recent disasters, Kings Cross, Zeebrugge, Piper Alpha, the trade unions had been warning the management about safety. Yet none of us knew: there was no alliance between the consumers and your members, the providers of the service.**

That's right. Let me give you a hands-on experience, which really left an impression on me. After the Greater London Council's Fares Fair policy was challenged in the high court in 1982, we worked with community organisations on the Can't Pay Won't Pay campaign. That campaign was, in my view, very much ahead of its time in linking consumers and providers of services together. The distressing part is that there was a tremendous amount of passenger support for that campaign. Yet we were so short-sighted as trade unionists that we didn't sell the notion sufficiently to our own members. We know the result. The conductors ended up doing management's work: stopping the bus and kicking off the passengers, our relatives, community, class. That was a classic case in my view of a missed opportunity to really have forged a new alliance between groups.

**How do you place the docks dispute in relation to this new approach? Because the dockers are a very important part of the history of the T&G. How do you square up that tradition with being seen to be the modernising, democratic presence?**

As you rightly say, we've got to respect the dockers' tradition. I don't think any other industry has had to suffer the indignity and the inhuman degregation of father fighting son for a day's work. That stays with us and influences us. But we now know that governments giveth and governments taketh away! Hard lessons are being learned out of that experience.

**What are they?**

Well, despite having the protection of the scheme, we still have non-scheme ports. One of the first lessons is to get to a position of forging that bond, a common coming-together of those currently in ports with registered dock workers, and those who are in the non-scheme ports.

In terms of how we get the dockers to pick up the new agenda, I think when we've talked about part-timers, recruiting seasonal or casual people, we *are* addressing that argument. Because we say that part-time workers should have the same rights, from day one: people should have the right not to be unfairly dismissed, they should have job security, rights to proper training, health and safety. The dockers have that added impetus of what we have been saying because we've raised the debate nationally, and they can benefit from the Link-Up campaign in resolving some of their problems through collective bargaining, as we must now do.

**Are you saying that docks labour scheme or no docks labour scheme, what you have to think about is certain basic issues to do with terms and conditions?**

That's right. At the end of the day if employers choose to determine their requirements for labour on the basis of supplementing peak demand, that's their affair. But we are setting the standard from which they can do it, with job security, dignity, pay and legal protection. We are putting these issues into a manageable perspective through negotiations.

We talk about trade unions in the community: no community has suffered more than the docks community. A whole generation has been pushed out of docklands because the trade union has not been there in the community. That's why we are talking about things like letting people come into our district offices and giving them advice. They shouldn't have to be members. We are experts in employment rights and laws and we should be prepared to share our resources with them.

The reason why Thatcher has got away with all these laws over the last 10 years attacking the trade unions is because the public, the community, didn't identify with trade unions.

**You are suggesting then that one of the conditions of the trade union movement's survival is that it's rooted in communities and not just in the job.**

Absolutely! We now have about 12,000 members in the so-called voluntary sector, because as the welfare safety net is pulled away, all sorts of groups are evolving, and we'd better be there to give them support. We've got to move beyond the rhetoric on a number of issues. Take training. We have to be able to demonstrate in a tangible way that we care about training by doing something ourselves, beyond just opposing Employment Training (ET). If I can have a plan for the next five years to see 20 young people emerge from a training scheme as public service vehicle drivers, then we've given a hundred people a skill for life that's positive.

**To pick up your point about rhetoric, how far is that project matched by the resources of the union? I have in my mind a woman in a factory whose problem, let's say, is equal pay. She has to negotiate this labrynthine structure in the T&G, only to be told at the end of the day, 'Sorry, we haven't got the money, go to the Equal Opportunities Commission!'**

Yes. What we are able to do at the end of the day will be limited, so we have to restructure our priorities. We are not an agency for training, and we can't replace the local authority in the community, let's be clear about that. And therefore you're absolutely correct that in the end we can only make a statement by our actions rather than totally satisfying a need. But making that statement can send waves and it gives us the moral right to advance the argument on behalf of those who are in need. I think that's important, it's leading by example.

**Finally, the Left has traditionally been hegemonic politically inside the T&G. But recently it has been very unstable. How do you assess the current political differences?**

I don't think that the so-called 'Left' in the T&G has been so unstable, or even that it has existed organisationally over the years as a hegemonic group. Where like-minded people have come together is on questions of representation at critical points.

**You could read that another way: which is about power, personalities, boys having tantrums! And that there's not a lot of political substance there.**

Yep! Those are not my words!

**Is the bitterness that has characterised the internal life of the Left going to calm down? Might you be the person to provide some clarity about who represents the Left?**

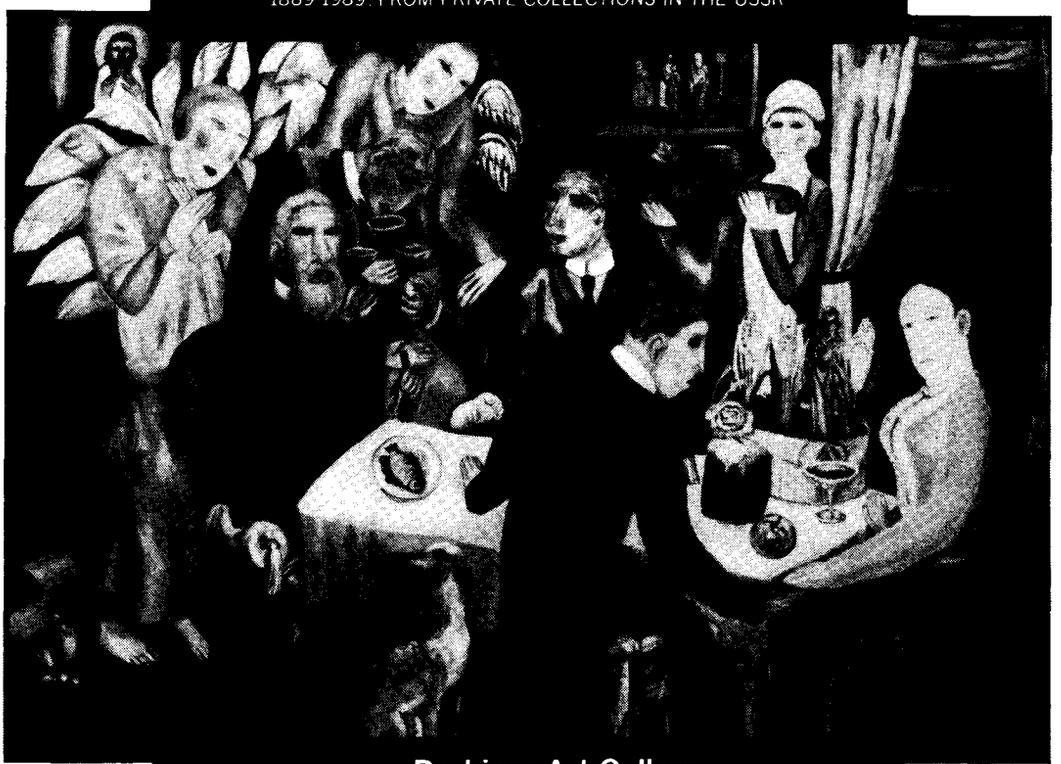
The ideas that I represent are certainly not exclusive: they have been a galvanising force within the organisation. The T&G's strategy document, 'Forward with the T&G', takes Link-Up further on up to the year 2000 and is the only agenda in town at the moment. I challenge my critics to come up with a better one, because I'll abandon mine. Many groupings have gravitated around that. There will always be those on the outer extremities who, for their sins, have got ideas which are not reconcilable. But I don't see this in personal terms. I see it in terms of ideas, principles, values, aims and objectives: in a word, the cause. ●



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# 100 YEARS OF RUSSIAN ART

1889-1989. FROM PRIVATE COLLECTIONS IN THE USSR



27 April–9 July
Open
seven days a week

**Barbican Art Gallery**
Level 8, Barbican Centre, Silk Street, London EC2
Telephone: 01-638 4141 ext.306
Recorded information 01-588 9023

# SAMIZDAT

**THE POST-THATCHER NEWSLETTER FOR A POPULAR FRONT OF THE MIND**

**MAY JUNE ISSUE OUT NOW**

● **ERIC HOBSBAWM** *on Los Angeles* ● **JOHN LLOYD** *on Moscow*
● **FRANCES MORRELL** *on Schools* ● **MATTHEW PARRIS** *on Thatcher*

**I WOULD LIKE A SUBSCRIPTION FOR ONE YEAR (6 ISSUES) PLEASE TICK:**

£25 ○ SUPPORTER'S SUBSCRIPTION (INCLUDES DONATION TO HELP ESTABLISH *SAMIZDAT*)
£20 ○ INSTITUTIONS OR INTERNATIONAL
£12 ○ ORDINARY SUBSCRIPTION
£7 ○ UNWAGED, STUDENTS ETC.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
_____
_____ POSTCODE _____ MT

*Send to* · ***Samizdat*** · ***18 Victoria Park Square*** · ***London E2 9PF***

# RED ALL OVER

**VALUE FORM AND THE STATE**
**The Tendencies of Accumulation and the Determination of Economic Policy in Capitalist Society**
*Geert Reuten and Mike Williams*

Challenges recent tendencies in anglophone Marxism and advocates that social form be re-established as the focus of social theory.

September 1989: 320pp: 216 x 138
Hb: 0-415-00088-2: £40.00
Pb: 0-415-03893-6: £12.95

**SOVIET POLICY PERSPECTIVES ON WESTERN EUROPE**
*Neil Malcolm*

Under Gorbachev, Soviet diplomacy has sought to build closer relationships with Western Europe. This book examines these policies and possible Soviet plans to split the Atlantic Alliance and to modify the post war policy on relations with the US.

*A Chatham House Paper, published in association with the Royal Institute of International Affairs*

June 1989: 144pp: 216 x 138
Pb: 0-415-03901-0: £7.95

**SOVIET POLITICS**
**An Introduction**
*Richard Sakwa*

This new and exciting book on ideas and events in the Soviet Union provides such comprehensive coverage – from 1917 to the present day – that you need read nothing else to be fully informed about contemporary events, and their development, in the USSR.

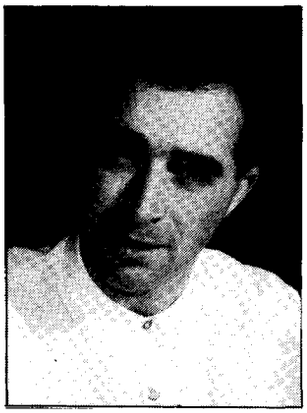
June 1989: 384pp: 216 x 138
Hb: 0-415-00505-1: £40.00
Pb: 0-415-00506-X: £12.95

Routledge

*Available from all booksellers. In case of difficulty please contact: Rachel Gibbard, ROUTLEDGE, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE Telephone: 01-583 9855*




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Dreams And Despair

**The team was the city's proudest symbol, explains Frank Cottrell Boyce. So what happens now?**

On the Monday after Hillsborough, *The Sun* set up a special hotline. We could listen to words of consolation and wisdom being spoken by Jimmy Tarbuck. On the radio, a sniffle of professional scousers choked out their requests – *Let It Be, You'll Never Walk Alone, Imagine.* Paul McCartney and Gerry Marsden re-released *Ferry Across The Mersey.* Everything was shaping up for another Great Showbiz Disaster – another Zeebrugge or Bradford. And this time with the added ingredient: the ebullient scouser. Histrionic, self-regarding, and above all, good footage.

But somehow it did not happen. Everything was quiet. There's been no Hatton-like rush for the cameras. No riot. No show. Hillsborough was not like Bradford, Zeebrugge or King's Cross. Hillsborough was not a disaster. It was a massacre. And the ebullient scouser was one of its victims.

Hillsborough saw a shockingly naked confrontation between the state and the people it is supposed to serve. While people died at the perimeter fence, ranks of young, fit, highly-skilled police officers formed a line across the middle of the pitch, linked arms and looked on. Preventing trouble. Even when they're dying you can't trust soccer fans. They were the kind of scenes that could spark a revolution. Sir Kenneth Oxford thought so. He sent extra patrols out on to Liverpool's streets to keep us all in order. But there was no riot. Everything was quiet. Still is. Grief is part of the reason, of course, but not all. Hillsborough has thrown the whole city of Liverpool into a kind of collective identity crisis.

This crisis is all the more important because the city's identity is one of its last remaining assets, pedalled in soaps, sitcoms and so on. A key element of that identity is football itself. Even for people not interested in the game, it is of crucial importance here. The fact that a city that can barely hold itself together has produced and maintained what is arguably the greatest football club in the world, has been a huge source of self-esteem. As the chant went at Wembley last year: 'You've got the jobs, we've got the team.'

The sense of involvement was clear throughout the days of mourning at Anfield. People who had never been inside the ground before spent hours there, came back day after day, felt the need to be there.

But will compensatory identification with the team hold up after Hillsborough? Things are different now. As Dalglish said, 'What's football?' Every young Liverpudlian male dreams at some point of setting foot on that neat green turf. Now, a million and a half people have walked all over it. Pushed prams and wheelchairs across it. Covered it with flowers. The Kop end of the pitch was churned to mud, like after a winter game, like nobody cared anymore.

Clubs are now spending money to make their grounds safe. The amounts of money involved – a million here, a million there – are pathetically small. About the same price as John Barnes' leg. One thing that Hillsborough has cruelly exposed is how little the clubs care about their supporters. Can Liverpool FC continue to function as a representative of the city and a carrier of its aspirations after being a party to such an avoidable, such a predictable catastrophe?

Reflex

**Anfield's haunting memorial**

There are signs that it can. Barnes' diplomatic, gracious presence at the funerals of the victims and, maybe more important, Aldridge's awareness that, as an ex-Kopite, it could have been him, have both done something to heal the rift. The opening of the ground itself as a centre for mourning also helped keep city and club together.

But that isn't really the point. Even if the club's reputation stays intact, football itself must surely be finished as a magical, symbolic solution to the woes of this city. Perhaps that's the one good thing that could come out of all this: the realisation that it is not enough, that a 'Merseypride' that crumbles so completely, so quickly, is not enough.

The mourning at Anfield was quiet and dignified. It was also explosively creative. Ordinary people had devised their own ceremonies and memorials. And they were beautiful. To get into the ground, through the scarf-bedecked Shankly Gate, you had to queue for hours, even in the middle of a midweek afternoon. The only sound was the mumble of rosaries.

When you finally got inside the ground, an utter silence fell on you like a shroud. At first it looked as though the Kop was full of people. It was only when you got nearer that you realised it was virtually deserted, that you were looking at the scarves and t-shirts tied to the crush barriers. The crowd you thought you'd seen was just a mirage. It evaporated eerily as you got nearer. Like a terrace full of ghosts.

Then there was the pitch itself. It is impossible to describe just how overpowering the sight of half a football pitch, knee-deep in wreaths and bouquets, looks. I tried to remember a line from Homer about young men dying like flowers. Instead I remembered one from the Aeneid: 'At last I know what love looks like'.

There was more than mourning going on here. Here was a city trying to re-invent itself. Trying to recover the pride that had been trashed by the state, the press and the Football Association. This time it might be that we have learnt that surrogate self-esteem is not enough. That gestures are not enough. That even at an all-Merseyside Final, it is wrong for anyone to have to pin their hopes on small groups of manufactured heroes – whether they be Liverpool FC, the Fab Four or the Royal Family.

Symbolic solutions to real problems have played a large part in keeping the ideology of the current regime in place; from the Falklands and the royal weddings to spectator shopping and the Metro Centre. Hillsborough has shown that a symbolic solution only solves a symbolic problem. It's not enough to have the team, you need to have the jobs as well. ●



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS

## High-Risk Health Strategy

Your correspondents (*MT* April) take issue with my analysis of the NHS white paper and argue that the government's plans mark the beginnings of privatisation. Their arguments are all plausible, and I am particularly sympathetic to Katy Gardiner's speculation that we may be on the road to US-style health maintenance organisations. Nevertheless, there are three reasons why I do not believe that privatisation is on the agenda.

First, the government has made it clear that it supports the principles of the NHS. There is nothing on the public record to justify the argument that privatisation is the aim of government policy. Second, as recent events have shown, there are powerful producer interests in the NHS which have a vested interest in the status quo. The government will not find it easy to pursue a strategy likely to be opposed by these interests. Thirdly, there is also strong public support for the NHS. Surely even this government will think twice before embarking on changes which may produce widespread public opposition?

If I am right, then the challenge is how to use the opportunities created by the white paper to promote equity, meet health needs and give greater priority to prevention. Much will depend on the way in which district health authorities decide to use their resources. By separating funding and provision, the government has created the conditions in which health authorities can act on behalf of consumers instead of being captured by producer interests.

One possibility is that health authorities will allocate more money than at present to prevention. A second possibility is for authorities to use their power as purchasers to reduce waiting lists for common operations, rather than to support esoteric areas of medicine of interest to doctors but of little value to patients.

As I argued in my article, the government has embarked on a high-risk strategy. There is a chance that it will help to tackle some of the real weaknesses of the NHS. There is also a danger that it will undermine the central values of the NHS, especially if competition between providers is not carefully managed. It is therefore to be regretted that the more radical ideas, such as self-governing hospitals and GP practice budgets, are not to be introduced on an experimental basis, supported by proper evaluation.

My own fear is that the white paper may be the last chance for the NHS. If the government's proposals fail or are stillborn, the arguments of those who were pressing the case for more fundamental reforms may be difficult to resist. Assuming that the status quo is not an option, should we not be seeking to ensure that the white paper is implemented in a manner that supports the aims of the NHS, rather than making those aims more difficult to achieve? ●

*Chris Ham, London*

## Appalling Proposals

I am appalled to find David Evans, right-wing Tory MP for Welwyn-Hatfield, sending me Chris Ham's article (*MT* March) to bolster his views on the review of the NHS. I had written to him in support of the doctors' opposition to the government's proposals.

What kind of marxism and what kind of writer makes it possible to align themselves with the spread of the so-called enterprise culture to health? I should like to know, but this is almost enough for me to cancel my subscription. ●

*Dr Peter Kingsford, Hatfield*

## Britannic Thatcher

The cover of the May issue reflects an uncharacteristic misjudgment on the magazine's part. There are many to whom Thatcher really does symbolise 'Britannia', but they're all too prejudiced and ignorant to want to buy *MT*.

To people who see the satire in the depiction of Thatcher as an archaic symbol of Britain's 'greatness', the 'joke' is decidedly weak and ambiguous. Why not just leave the woman alone and show a more boring but more telling picture of Docklands or a closed-down factory? ●

*Dan Rubenstein, Stockwell*

## All For One And One For All

The proponents of electoral pacts (Letters, *MT* April) ignore a fundamental point: there are many parties on the left of Thatcherism. Thus if Labour makes a deal solely with the Democrats, the SDP will gain many centre-right voters; in Wales and Scotland nationalists will still split the anti-Tory vote and the Green and Communist Parties will pick up left-wing activists.

This means that a centre-left pact, no matter how selective its aims, cannot be selective in its partners. The pact has to include other sizeable and democratic non-Thatcherite parties. These include the SDP, who will welcome an electoral pact as a way to be more than a block on the Democrats' ambitions. It's up to Labour to decide what's more important: its pride, or the defeat of Thatcherism. ●

*James Spencer, Sussex*

## Puritan Pacts

It is unfortunate that the Davis and Green article on electoral pacts invoked a mixture of conservatism and puritanism in letters from D Poke, C Saunders and others (*MT* April). Co-operation by all the opposition parties can seize the initiative if based on positive agreement. In Scotland, it can bring the precious potential of a Tory-free zone.

Fighting every seat, no matter how hopeless, is just another of those post-1945 outmoded two-party system conventions, and it has to be discarded. (This, after all, is what the constitutional convention and Charter 88 are meant to be about.) It was certainly not the practice in that other period of multi-party politics and Tory rule (strange, how they always go together) in the 20s and 30s, when all sorts of pacts went on, from the Oxford Popular Front by-election to many more mundane Lib-Lab agreements.

The coming Euro-elections show the necessity of a minimum anti-Tory tactical vote: SNP in north-east Scotland, Labour in south Scotland, to defeat the two Tory incumbent MEPs. As a Labour Party member in the north-east seat, I will be voting SNP. Let no party regard or claim victory in either of these as a mandate for their narrow policies. ●

*Gerry Hassan, Dundee*

## Cultural Professionals

David Edgar's 'Culture Vulture' (*MT* May) slips between two definitions which a swift flick back through Raymond Williams' *Culture And Society* would have enabled him to sort out: namely, culture as 'the high arts' versus culture as 'a whole way of life'. By eliding these two meanings, he misses both the resources of hope the term offers and the complexity of the challenges it now poses.

In allowing 'culture' to refer so persistently to the 'liberal intelligentsia', the 'cultural establishment', Edgar unwittingly repeats the latter's own expulsion of our ordinary ways of living. The mandarins of 'universities, the arts, the BBC, the church' produced an ethos of professionalism deeply inimical to democratic values.

If that ethos could benignly preside over a certain extension of social-realism, its more typical product was a self-enclosed avant-garde, revelling a dozen times in violence and outrage for every one genuinely exploratory and experimental work it produced. Harold Pinter's early plays are the enemy of a socialist culture, not its embryo.

But culture as 'a whole way of life' – as inhering in our primary human relationships, in deep affiliations of place, settlement, neighbourhood, in the mutuality of work and leisure – remains our essential anti-capitalist (if not always anti-conservative) resource. Capitalism can dent but not destroy these values, it can warp their expression but not rewrite their essence. The real question for socialist cultural thinkers is how the increasingly complex institutions and technologies of culture can be opened to such values, made to foster rather than feign them.

For decades or even generations now, David Edgar's 'professionals of culture' have blocked such access. Thatcherism may indeed now be 'coming for them'. If so, let them fight the good fight, *their* fight; for in the lonely hour of the last instance it most certainly is not *ours*. ●

*Tony Pinkney, Oxford*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## European Nuclear Unity

David Marquand's analysis of European federalism (*MT* April) is what one would expect from his political antecedents. (It is, as an analysis, flawless!) The one caveat I'd like to enter is in respect of an area Marquand does not touch on: the defence and foreign policy implications of such a Europe.

What would seem to be at stake is whether the emergent Europe will be a nuclear weapons state. For this purpose, the Western European Union (WEU) – previously a moribund talking shop – has suddenly been reactivated. By chance it contains the UK and the original EC Six, but excludes neutral Eire.

Now 'southern' members of the Community, some of them new Nato members, are attempting to join the WEU. The logic would seem to be that the new nation is to be nuclear armed, by the back door. The American withdrawal is the golden opportunity to have done with these creations, and it is to be hoped that other constraints – perhaps the entry of neutral Austria and other, non-Nato, Efta members (eg, Sweden), will also prevail in the debate leading to European federalism. ●

*David Duckels,*
*East Yorks*

## Europe Of The Optimists

Your April issue on Europe left me wondering whether 'new times' thinking is just as naively optimistic as former times, when my student generation of the 60s were dreaming imminent revolution, even as the new Right were calculating the strategy that has put them so firmly in power.

A 'Europe of the peoples' sounds a wonderful idea, but I think we'd better prepare for a well-armed industrial-military complex, as powerful as ever the postwar superpowers were, but without the self-sufficiency in energy or natural resources that has enabled them to be sources of relative stability in the post-war world. The case for balancing optimism of the will with pessimism of the intellect again, I suppose. ●

*David Russell Barnes, Dyfed*

## Steamrolling The Greens

Tom Burke (*MT* April) argues that the green parties do not offer themselves as serious candidates for government: their programmes are 'assemblies of wishes with little indication of how the necessary relationship between the present and the future is to be articulated'.

It is precisely this utopian – or millenarian – vision which left politics for much of its history fatally lacked, leading to stalinist ossification and the installation of bureaucratic means as ends in themselves.

Green parties certainly do 'seek to build the stable constituencies of support necessary for the achievement of office in a democracy'. The problem is that they are not plugged into the financial support base which enables the parties of the industrial Left and Right to carve up the political territory between them. It is precisely *because* green parties stand to benefit the truly disadvantaged in society – not to mention the earth itself – that they are at an electoral disadvantage. If green parties prove to be of merely 'passing' importance it will be because the industrial steamroller, perhaps bedecked with green flags, has deluded a world it will inevitably crush in its course.

There is a fundamental contradiction between green politics and the fetishism of the market. There is equally a basic contradiction between green politics and the workerist job-mania of the industrial Left.

The role of green parties at this stage, when everyone across the political spectrum is breathlessly reaching for brush and paintpot, is to point out these contradictions. The politics of 'quality' is fundamentally opposed to the politics of 'quantity'. If green parties fail, just as much as if they succeed, it will be because of this fact. ●

*Paul O'Brien, Dublin*

**Editorial Note:** We welcome your letters to add to discussion. Please send them to *MT* Letters Page, 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY. Brevity means you are more likely to be published. We reserve the right to cut.

## Post-Fordist Workers

According to Charlie Leadbeater (*MT* May), the 'archetypal worker will be the service-sector worker, acting with other people to provide a service.'

Fine. 'Serving' – helping other people – has a much better image than grubby, boring old manufacturing. But what kinds of service? Checkout girl, bank clerk? And, concretely, what with?

We live in a world of things, most of which are commodities. Who is going to kindly produce these things for us? Charlie does not postulate a workerless factory, so one is forced to the conclusion that another archetype is likely to be black, probably female, perhaps about 12 years of age and living in another part of the world. Post-Fordism? How Eurocentric can we get? ●

*Dorothy Friedmann,*
*London*

## Future Guarantees

Towards the end of his article 'Back To The Future' (*MT* May), Charlie Leadbeater suggests that there is 'no new idea on the Left which combines a commitment to social justice and redistribution with a recognition of the new role of diversity and difference.'

The idea he is searching for is the basic, universal, non-work income guarantee. This idea lies at the centre of many recent attempts by writers on the Left to re-articulate the notion of citizenship, humanise market individualism and 'socialise the market' as Diane Elson puts it in her recent important article for *New Left Review*.

There is no question that the Left has a progressive idea capable of surpassing the unfettered possessive individualism of Thatcherism, yet still recognising the important role the market must play in any society of freedom, diversity and difference. The only problem is the labour movement's failure to translate the idea into policy commitments for a new and challenging socialist practice. ●

*Gerard Strange, Leicester*

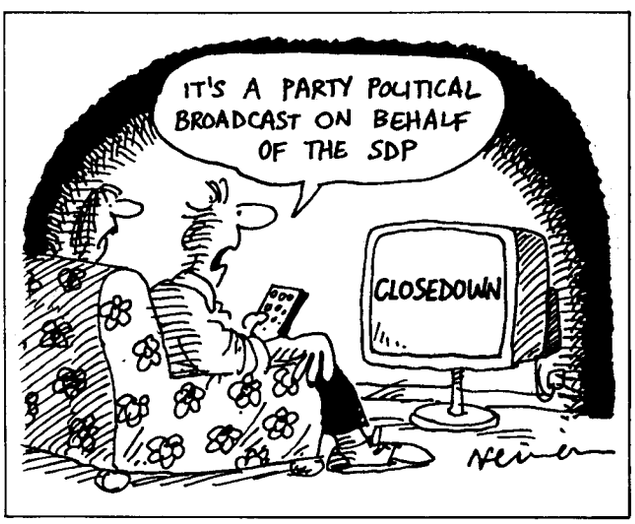
## Pub Society

The British public house system has many faults. But Lon Flemming's argument for a British café society (*MT* April) makes an odd comparison. Certainly it is true that pubs are being turned into café bars. The aim, however, is not to make them more habitable. Rather, it is part of the brewers' strategy to make profit and develop new aspects to the leisure industry.

Rather than go along with the brewers' plans for us, what about some arguments for making pubs more social instead? Cut the price of low alcohol and soft drinks, provide cheap and edible food at all times, children's rooms in all pubs and no-smoking areas.

The Campaign For Real Ale claimed some of the credit for the Monopolies Commission report. Despite its image it has also been active on all the issues mentioned above. A pity then that credit is not given where credit is due. ●

*Keith Martin, Tottenham*




Nick Newman



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Network

# Patient As Punter

The Thatcher governments have always wanted to do something about the NHS. But until now they haven't dared. Now they have moved. *Steve Iliffe* interviews **Kenneth Clarke**

**For the benefit of readers, can I just sum up what I think the White Paper *Working For Patients* is about. There seem to be three things in it. One is the enhancement of consumer choice. The second is competition as a mechanism for improving the quality of care. And the third is the improvement of the efficiency of all services within the NHS. Is that a fair summary?**
Well, I hate to begin by agreeing with every word you say, but yes.

**Let's start with consumer choice: what is the consumer choosing in the new plan?**
The consumer is choosing where, when and how he has his treatment. He is choosing his general practitioner, I hope on the basis of his confidence in the GP's ability to get him into the system and so on. The GP, in order to retain his patient, will make similar choices of the hospital service, or whatever other parts of the service he has to call upon. He'll make a judgment about the quality of care and the likelihood of a successful outcome for his patient when he puts the patient into the system.

The point it underlines is that a great public service, like the health service, should be consumer-oriented and not producer-oriented.

**I can understand the choices that the doctor would be making, but I'm not quite sure how the consumer would make rational choices about the quality of care. Isn't there a problem here?**
I think at the moment, as consumers, we do choose to a certain extent how we get into the health service. Most of us choose which GP to go to, usually when we move house. At the moment, that judgment's usually made by word of mouth. In future we will be better informed because the practices will all be producing practice leaflets. And once the Monopolies and Mergers Commission has sorted out the consequences of their report with the professional bodies, it will even be open to the GPs to advertise the nature of the service and the specialities they offer.

Similarly most patients can exercise some sort of a choice when it comes to the reputation of the local hospitals and other community units. There tends to be a reputation in a particular that one hospital is better than another. You have to build on that kind of consumer judgment by combining the consumer's feelings about what he or she would like to choose with good, professional advice, which they will get above all else from a good GP.

**I accept the point about information. But if I choose a restaurant, I don't choose it on the basis of what the restaurateur says about his food, but by what others say about it; I go by the *Good Restaurant Guide*. Now I think that element is missing and that rather undermines the proposals for a consumer-oriented service. But more seriously, I'm worried that in practice, none of us can know, as rational consumers, the need for medical care for ourselves, or its timing, or its quality, or its outcome. It's not as if we were buying washing machines or ties.**
Yes, I agree, at the moment we tend to go to the doctor when we're feeling off-colour, and we hope that the GP can diagnose what's wrong and either advise us himself, or refer us to someone who can help. Of course we are chang-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing that to some extent. One of the features of the new GPs' contract is that when a patient registers with a GP, he will offer the patient a check-up as part of the registration. He will offer every patient the opportunity of a check-up once every three years or so. This is to try and get the GP more closely involved with continuous health care for all the patients, and not just dealing with them when they turn up with symptoms of something wrong. That will help to produce more discerning consumers in future. Because that will be one way by which they'll judge the practice.

**The example of check-ups worries me, because that's an area where the medical validity of the work is questionable. That really raises for me the issue of the value of information. If I, as a consumer of health services, need to know the value of information provided for me, and the value of things done to or for me, by doctors or nurses or whoever, then really I've got to know the information itself. I've got to know exactly what they're doing and why. In a sense I have to be a doctor or a nurse to be this ideal consumer who can look at the package on offer and say, 'Yes, that's right for me,' or 'No, it isn't'.**

You'd be striving to be an excessively discerning consumer if you felt you wanted to know the exact medical basis of what the doctor was doing. A lot of men and women will think it's a good idea that their doctor is keeping in touch with them and checking them up. The consumer will decide whether or not he's being treated in a civilised and sympathetic fashion, whether the doctor gives him useful advice.

**It's relatively easy to see how that would work at the soft end, in general practice, where we're not talking about life or death conditions most of the time. It's much more difficult to see how that would work when you're dealing with specialist care, for example the baby in the special care baby unit. The judgments that the consumer makes about that don't fit easily into that approach.**

No, that's right, and certainly when it comes to an awful lot of emergency work – when you're suddenly taken ill, or hit by a bus, or you're afflicted by some condition which only one or two people in your area can deal with – consumer choice won't come into it. You'll still be admitted into what you hope is a high quality service, to which you have access. But in other ways I think, through the GP, people will become more discerning about hospitals. Medical audit is going to be introduced throughout the service. And that will add enormously to the information everybody has about the respective performance of different bits of the service.

At the moment it's amazing that we don't really know which are the high-quality performers and which aren't. Most people in the profession will know which hospitals have a high reputation and which do not for particular conditions. But the systematic medical audit that we're introducing will throw up much more information, both for the people in the hospital units themselves, and for those who manage the units, and I'd like to see this accessed by GPs as well. And then people will be making much more informed judgments than they've ever made before about where you're likely to get the best treatment and the best possible outcome within the system in your locality.

**'A great public service, like the health service, should be consumer-orientated and not producer-orientated'**

**So what do you think are the dangers of consumerism in medical care?**

The dangers of consumerism are if you have an unsophisticated consumer who can be sold rather smart stuff, that looks very good. A danger you can see in parts of the American system, whereby a lot of glossy kit, a lot of unnecessary diagnostic tests, sometimes even unnecessary drugs, even sometimes unnecessary treatment, are given to patients because the patients are persuaded that all this is over and above what they'd get elsewhere. But I don't think we'll have that here. Because the snag in the States is that too much there is left to the consumer without professional advice. There's no family doctor. There's no guide into the system. I don't think it'll happen here because the money remains public money, and the allocation of resources, as far as possible in line with the consumer's choice, will be done by professionals.

**Where does competition fit into that structure?**

The competition will come between hospital units, say, where the motivation will not be profit, but pride in their unit and a desire to expand and establish its reputation. That is the principle motive that drives along most consultants now. They will seek to build up their practice. And they will realise the way to do that is to offer a service which builds up their reputation with GPs and patients in the locality. And if they can carry on building up their referrals, they will successfully compete for the NHS monies that will come in with the referrals.

I am a Conservative, and the reason I'm in favour of competition is not because I think it's some kind of spectator sport, but because it's the most effective way of making use of resources. I believe you will get a better distribution of resources in the health service by competition than you do at the moment, where the distribution of money's largely determined by obscure formulae, devised by the health service management, coupled with a lot of lobbying. At the moment the consultant whose voice is loudest wins when it comes to getting money for their unit.

**But as I understand it, the white paper talks about competition over price. Isn't that right?**

One of the things people will look at is price. All the critics have rather parodied what we're doing by assuming that the only judgment that's going to be made is one of price. Because we talk of an internal market, critics assume we're talking about the kind of market you might have for vegetables. People argue we'll have to send all our patients 60 miles down the road if it's cheaper to have a hip replacement there. I don't think people will. They'll look at the combination of quality and price. But I suspect the principal judgment a GP will make will be about quality: 'Am I sending my patient to a place with a good reputation, that has a chance of a successful outcome?' He will also look at cost, because if it is costing an absolute fortune, he will of course also say, 'Well, I just can't afford to send all my patients there.' So there will also be pressures to control cost as well. But I think in medicine, where you're making choices about treatments, they're more likely to be overlaid by choices of quality. I want both, and I won't deny it.

**Why do you think that quality will overlay price as an issue when the management of the health service can grasp price easily, as a comprehensible and compact management tool, whereas quality is extremely difficult to define. Some would say indefinable?**

Because that's the first thing people look for in medical care. If you are ill, the first thing you ask is, 'Where am I likely to get the best treatment?' Put yourself in the position of how private patients make judgments. Their first judgment is not, 'How am I going to keep my Bupa subscription down', it is, 'Where is the best treatment I can get,' and by best they mean, what is most likely to cure them. Of course if the cost is astronomical, then the decision will be made not to do it. Now you say that involves making judgments, and judgments of quality are, by their nature, less precise than judgments of cost, I agree, but that doesn't mean that quality judgments are impossible to make.

**But in the area in which I work, the local hospitals have been closing wards and units, not because of the poor quality of those wards and units, but because they've had to balance their budgets. If at the end of the financial year, the management of the health service – which is immensely powerful compared with the consumer, even the discerning consumer, and his or her GP – is looking at the simplest and easiest things to measure, price is going to be the simplest and easiest of all. Quality, inevitably, is going to take second place.**

What the management of the hospital's going to look at is whether the resources are coming in to pay for the work. The situation you describe is one of the biggest failings of the present system. You have a set sum of money allocated for the year, you're allowed to spend that money regardless of the quality or quantity of care you produce, and if you're in danger of overspending, the quickest and easiest thing for management to do is cut back on part of it. And they don't always make the most ra-

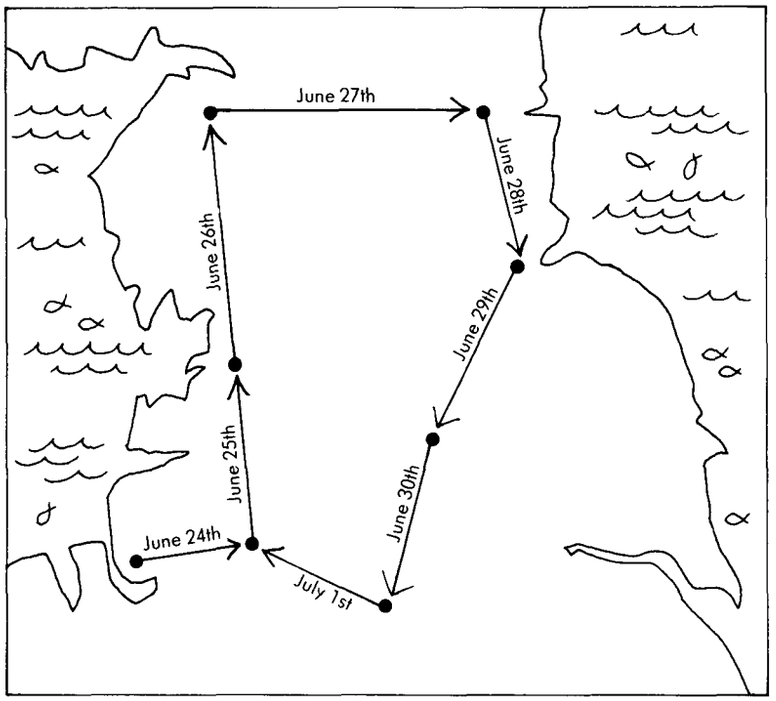


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BIG RED BIKE RIDE

# HOW TO JOIN THE RIDE

Apply on the form below, we will then arrange insurance and all back-up facilities. Riders must book at least one week before the ride/day-stage. You will then be sent a sponsorship form, to raise funds for the cause of your choice.




| Date | Route | Organiser | Phone No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| June 24th | Liverpool-Manchester | John O'Brien<br>24 Hardman St.<br>Liverpool 1 | 051-708 5572 |
| June 25th | Manchester-Lancaster | Arthur Adlen<br>48 Princess St.<br>Manchester 1 | 061-228 7998 |
| June 27th | Carlisle-Newcastle | Joe Keith<br>65a Heaton Rd<br>Newcastle<br>NE6 5HH | 091-276 2574 |
| June 28th | Newcastle-Middlesbro' | Trish McKay<br>65a Heaton Rd.<br>Newcastle<br>NE6 5HH | 091-276 4886 |
| June 29th | Middlesbro'-York | Andy Croft<br>13 Emerson Ave.<br>Middlesbro' | 0642 827499 |
| June 30th | York -Sheffield | Bill Innes<br>Leeds TUC<br>Saville Mt,<br>Leeds 7. | 0532 626343 |

JUNE 24TH-JULY 1ST

# PEDALS FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

An 8 Day sponsored bike ride round the north of England. Open to cyclists raising money for any progressive cause. You can join in for a day; or you can go the whole distance. Each rider will be asked to raise money through sponsorship for the cause of his or her own choice The route will avoid main roads and aim for the most attractive scenery. We hope that each rider will get a lot of pleasure from the ride, and perhaps a boost to health and fitness. The Big Red Bike Ride was initiated by the Communist Party with the support of Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, Chile Solidarity Campaign, and the Liverpool-Corinto Building Brigad On the ride there will be stage-guides, back-up vehicles, bike doctors, free accommodation and breakfasts plus at the end of the day a free evening event.

## REGISTRATION FORM

**PLEASE REGISTER ME FOR THE BIG RED BIKE RIDE**

One day ride between _____ and _____

on _____ (date)

Fee £5 I enclose £

Full ride
Fee £50
Includes accommodation and breakfast —
I enclose £

**Please send me the goods**

Extra copies of the sponsorship form (30p) £
1988 T-Shirts (circle size) S M L XL (£2.00) £
Stickers (30p per sheet) £
Donation £
I enclose a total of £

Make cheques payable to 'Big Red Ride' and send with your completed registration and a large stamped addressed envelope to:

**BIG RED BIKE RIDE,**
**24 HARDMAN STREET,**
**LIVERPOOL. L1 9AX.**
**TEL 051-708 5572**

Please sign below to indicate acceptance of these conditions:

**DISCLAIMER**

All entrants ride at own risk. The organisers at national and local level cannot accept responsibility for persoal injury, loss or damage to cycles ro equipemtn, loss of personal effects or any public liability. Riders cycle on the public Highway and should observe the 'Highway Code'.

Signed _____
(If under 16, parents or guardian must sign)

Name _____

Address _____

_____ Postcode _____

Phone number _____

Age (if under 16) _____

BIG RED BIKE RIDE



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tional choices about which bits to cut. What will happen under our new system is that the management of the hospital will see which parts of the hospital are attracting a flow of patients, which are therefore up to capacity, whether the resources which are coming in with the patients do indeed cover the cost of treating them, and they will make judgments about where their strengths are, where their weaknesses are, and they will probably play to their strengths and not to their weaknesses.

**So competition means winners and losers. You can't have a competition in which there are no losers, it isn't a competition.** That's what the professions don't like.

**I don't like it either as a citizen, because I wonder what happens if my GP, to whom I am attached, for various reasons, is a loser, and slowly her clinical work deteriorates as her morale and her service spiral downwards towards non-viability; what happens to me then?**
Well again, that slightly goes back to our view of competition. Competition very rarely produces such black and white results. People who criticise the notion of competition as a means of distributing resources, tend to portray it as a situation where on the one hand the successful entrepreneur commands all the resources, and everybody else closes down. But it's never like that. What happens is, people's performance responds as they perceive themselves to be doing well or not so well, in a competitive situation. I think a GP who finds that she's simply not building up the patient lists and somebody new has opened in the area who's plainly attracting more patients, will attempt to raise her performance: it's the obvious thing to do. That's what happens in every other walk of life, and if she's incapable of doing so, and the vast majority of patients insist on going somewhere else, then no doubt she will retain those patients who have particular regard for whatever qualities she has, but from the point of view of the general public, the taxpayers' resources will be going to that GP who appears to be keeping up-to-date, and appears to be giving much greater patient satisfaction.

**To return to my GP. For irrational reasons, let's say I stick with her despite her decline, and she's unable to arrest it, for reasons which I do not know. What happens at the point when she decides that the game's no longer worth playing and she's going to get out?**
If she cannot attract enough work to justify her continuing in practice, then in the last resort if she really is dependent on a dwindling list of people who go to her for eccentric reasons, then I'm not quite sure it's the duty of the health service to step in and protect her.

**No, I'm not saying that. It's me, the patient, I'm concerned about.**
I really don't think that'll happen to many GPs. There is quite a big cushion given today's levels of remuneration, before many are going to start thinking of shutting up shop.

**'I'm in favour of competition not because it's some kind of spectator sport, but because it's the most effective way of making use of resources'**

**But I'm concerned that your concern for the individual user of the service is not very great. I, as that patient, am a bit of a pawn in the market: I'm just being shunted around. My GP goes out of business, I have to go somewhere else. Now as it happens, for me, because I'm young and able-bodied, I can actually go up the road, because there's plenty of choice in the area in which I live. I'm not old with osteoarthritis and living in the country where there is no easy accessible alternative. This whole issue of competition with winners and losers potentially creates enormous problems for individuals, who have already limited access to the existing services and for whom accessibility may decline. The same goes for hospitals.**
No, we're not penalising the patient. If you're an elderly patient with a dicky heart, say, the resources that the health service will devote to you will be the same whichever doctor you go to. Let's assume for the moment we've got two doctors, both of whom have got practice budgets. The resource available for that patient will be the same from one GP to another, and the GPs' budgets will be put together in the same way. So the doctor that you're registered with has the same resources at his or her disposal as the rival would have down the road. All you're saying is that some doctors might be less successful in making the best use of that. Well, what you're being penalised for there, is the fact that you've chosen to go to a poorer doctor. I can't protect you against that.

**As a patient, I would be concerned though that you're transferring problems on to my lap, that actually belonged within the structure, including the failure of different practitioners to produce services of equal or similar quality.**
Yes, I hope you would become steadily more aware of the fact that you weren't with the best practice in the locality. At the moment – I think it lay behind a lot of the recent fuss with the GPs – the public automatically ally themselves with the medical profession, and most members of the public are extremely fond of their general practitioner. That's a good thing and I think it will continue to be the case, because most GPs are very good. But almost all members of the public think their GP is an extremely good GP. They have no basis for comparison. Most of them don't really have any experience of going to any other GP. Under the new system more people might become aware that they're not with the practice which is generally regarded as being the most go-ahead in the locality.

**Are you saying that the worst features of the market mechanism would be mitigated by the fact that there actually isn't very much of a market? That consumers do not exist as such in this ideal way in many places? Few of us are actually real consumers of healthcare in that sense?**
As consumers we make judgments on the basis of a combination of things, and some of us will be more keen to make a choice than others, so I don't think the market will swing resources around dramatically. Indeed that's one of my general arguments on the white paper. The current cry that's been taken up by the opposition to the white paper, is that we should go more slowly, we should pilot it and so on, because it's a radical and dramatic change. It is a radical and dramatic change of *system*, which in many years' time will be seen to have changed it rather a lot, but I just don't agree that resources or anything else can be slung around wildly in the first years. I think within this market, individual citizens will make a very complicated range of choices and will be slow to move, and within the service GPs will be slow to move.

**Brand loyalty will hold firm.**
I don't think it's a case of closing down a whole lot of redundant GP practices and surgical units overnight once we introduce it.

**Aren't there some diseconomies within the competition approach? If, for example, my GP starts to advertise, and holds a budget and negotiates contracts with local hospitals for particular kinds of investigations or outpatient services, doesn't that involve expenditure of time and energy and person-power that could be used in doing something else more profitable?**
Yes, and that extends right across the service. But we should make the same judgment that any other large organisation makes of its management: that you keep it down to the minimum necessary and you only spend money on management or non-productive time to the extent that it pays for itself by getting better value for money out of the money you have available for patient care. I want our consultants and doctors and GPs to remain sceptical of administrative cost, as I am, and make sure we only incur it to the level that it pays for itself.

**Can we talk about efficiency? The references to efficiency that I've seen in the white paper and the working documents sound like production efficiency: throughput measures rather than outcome measures. What would you say to that?**
There is a danger that you will get too concerned with the kind of efficiency that just involves taking out cost. What you have to remember always in health care, is what you are trying to produce: which is high quality care. So I hope, as the amount of information on both fronts is increased, as manager and clinician have more information than they've ever had before, about the quality of their work, and the cost of the work, they'll strike the proper balance between the two. So if you have a particularly high cost unit, you will want to ask yourself, both as clinician and


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEALTH MATTERS

## HEALTH MATTERS

A new bi-monthly magazine taking a lively look at the world of health and the health of the world.

First issue out now
Health care 1999: What the White Paper will really mean.
After Cleveland: A better understanding of child abuse?
New initiatives for a healthier workforce
Water worries

**Special Launch Offer:**
1 years subscription £7.50. Subscribe Now.
For more details contact Health Matters,
344 South Lambeth Road,
London, SW8 1UQ

London's Gay Community Bookshop

## Gay's The Word

66 MARCHMONT STREET

LONDON WCIN IAB

TELEPHONE 01-278 7654

The Movement For A New Decade

THE SOCIALIST CONFERENCE

*Register now for the third Socialist Conference.*

**SHEFFIELD JUNE 17 & 18**

Now for the

# SOCIALIST

## Policy Review...

NON-SECTARIAN DISCUSSION OF POLICIES AND ACTION ON DISARMAMENT, THE ECONOMY, THE ENVIRONMENT AND MANY, MANY MORE AREAS OF CONCERN

Paid up members of the Socialist Conference, £3 unwaged; £6 waged. Non-members, £4 unwaged, £8 waged.
For a booking form and more information, write to:
The Socialist Conference, PO Box 118, Chesterfield, Derbyshire, S44 5UD, enclosing large stamped,addressed envelope.

**Sponsored by the Socialist Society, Women for Socialism, the Campaign Group of MPs, the Conference of Socialist Economists, the Socialist Green Network.**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

manager: 'Is this high cost justified by the higher quality we're getting?'

**Are you saying that medical audit is the mechanism which will ensure that quality does not fall as production increases?**
Yes. Medical audit will sometimes provide the perfect defence against people criticising high cost: because you're producing high quality. Going back to your question, you need to put into the balance of judgments you're making, a judgment about the quality you're getting, and the success of your outcomes, alongside judgments about the cost you're incurring. But it means that if you do find ways in which you can take out cost, to release resources for something else, you can make sure you're not doing so in any way that is damaging the quality of your care.

**You see, it seems to me that the proposals are biased towards process issues, rather than quality of care. For example, the target for cervical cytology screening says that a particular number of smears must be done before any payment is made to GPs. Now the problem with cervical smears is not necessarily the number that are being done at the moment, but first of all, who is getting them, and secondly the quality of the smears themselves, neither of which feature within the 'target' approach to things. It may be that all the cervical smears are done, and the GPs are paid for doing them, but too few of them are of satisfactory quality. Or, the laboratories, under the increased workload created by these energetic GPs, are unable to maintain their quality of reading of the smears. So the consequence for the women concerned might be false reassurance that they have a normal smear when they don't, or false anxiety that they have an abnormal smear when they don't, and so on down the chain. How does the audit system work to control that?**
Well, the target, first of all, will involve GPs having to get up to a speed with the at-risk women. It will be necessary, in order to achieve an 80% target, to go for the older women, who are the particularly at-risk and the least-screened group at the moment. And on the quality side, the medical audit would certainly throw up the fact that a practice was producing far too high a proportion of smear tests of inadequate quality. It is also the case that, as with quite a lot of other features of the reform, if the labs can't cope with the increased workload which we're striving to generate, then it will no doubt throw up yet another choice that local management has got to make: to put in money where the work is building up and where there is demand.

You asked me where medical audit comes in: medical audit for GPs ought to pick up the fact that a practice is having a less than satisfactory performance and if the quality of smear tests is decreasing.

**Under the present proposals it wouldn't alter their remuneration: if they reach the target, they reach the target, and get paid.**

**'I've always thought the amount of private healthcare would go up, because we're becoming a more affluent society'**

I did not try to introduce any sort of quality control into the contract, because the first aim must be to get up to the level of screening that we require. That doesn't mean I don't share the aim of making sure that screening is effective – obviously if it's not, that does more harm than good. But firstly, most GPs will strive to keep their quality up, there aren't many GPs who are so careless or feckless that they'll cheerily aim for my target, regardless of the fact they know perfectly well half these smear tests are not good enough. And the medical audit will pick them up and they will be pursued, I hope, by their Family Practitioner Committee, to whom we're giving a much stronger role.

**Can I ask you why the white paper was written with the emphasis on competition and consumer choice, when, as we've discussed, they are both rather limited things. Why not write it about core services and the importance of medical audit and tack on consumer choice and competition as subsidiary mechanisms to that?**
What the white paper was written about, was making better use of resources. The theme of the white paper and the way it's addressed to the public is that we are spending vast sums of money on the National Health Service, we're likely to have to spend vastly more, at the moment it isn't run as well as it ought to be and it needs to be a better public service, so we can get better value out of all this money and make it a better service still. You and I in the interview plunged into the chosen mechanisms of this government for achieving that end. If you asked me as a Conservative, what do you do to improve a giant national service of this kind, in order to get better value for money out of what we spend on it, then I start talking about competition, consumer choice and managerial efficiency. But they are the chosen instruments.

**Why not push that logic to its conclusion then, and say let's replace the National Health Service with a system that runs primarily on those mechanisms. Why not have national health insurance, why not privatise completely?**
I personally do not think that insurance-based medical systems are very good. The main reason why the private health care in America is far too expensive is because it's largely insurance-financed. And the trouble with any insurance-based system is there's not enough customer resistance where it matters. You have the feeling, which you can have in the health service, that you're spending somebody else's money. But you have the added feeling, of the customer, the patient, that you damn well ought to spend money. I mean the average Bupa -insured patient not only feels no constraint on what should be spent on his care, but actually thinks it's about time he got his money back and is extremely pleased to discover he's getting very expensive care. And he gets very indignant if his insurance company tries to limit it.

Most insurance systems produce less restraint on the part of providers and purchasers than our cash-limited, tax-financed National Health Service system. You get higher unit costs. The other very basic point is that in healthcare, there are vast areas of care that you can't insure against. It's very difficult to insure against chronic mental illness, or senility, or having some wildly expensive rare disease. And we all know that in the States everybody insures who can afford to do so, but it's no more than 60% of the population, at the moment. And of those, they can still find themselves very unlucky if they get very ill. You can finally go bust as you go through the limits of your insurance cover.

**One last question: what do you think is the right mix of public and private provision in health care?**
My view is that it should find its own level. I've always believed it should find its own level with that section of the population that for some reason or another are persuaded that private cover for part of their healthcare is a good idea. And I always argue it reduces the pressures on the health service when they do. If anything, I think the reform will slow down the rate at which private cover increases.

The thing that would make private medicine accelerate quickly in this country, would be perceived inadequacies in the NHS. The NHS can be reformed, and can tackle some of those inadequacies. The waiting-lists can come down. If people feel they've got greater choice, if it becomes more consumer-friendly, and they can buy extras by the bedside, and the staff are being polite to them, when they're an NHS patient, then I think the sellers of private insurance will find they're faced with a competitor. I'm sure the latter will be able to compete, because there's a section to whom they will be able to offer so much convenience, choice, instant access and so on, that a great public service won't be able to meet. But it will find its own level.

I've always thought that the amount of private healthcare would go up, because we're becoming a more affluent society, and as people have more disposable income they look to areas like health and education, in a way that only a tiny minority of the population did in the past. But private health and education should not be an easy way of making money. And I think the duty of government is to strive to have high quality, public services, so that if you want to spend your money on health you can, but you don't do so because you feel forced to by an inadequate public service. And with any luck the standards of private health, and even the costs of private health, might be improved in this country because they'll be facing a more serious competitor – in the face of the National Health Service. ●


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Left And Rights

Citizenship has become the flavour of the month. It has re-entered the political debate with a vengeance. Mrs Thatcher uses it: so does the Left. **Stuart Hall** and **David Held** argue that the concept of citizenship must lie at the very centre of a new socialist politics

'Citizenship' has been largely absent from political discussion and debate for more than two decades. Only in relation to questions of race and immigration did it carry a deep political charge. Were the boundaries of citizenship to be redrawn with the end of empire? Could there be more than one class of citizenship for people of different ethnic backgrounds? The debate, crowned by the intervention of Enoch Powell in the late 1960s, marked a high point in the political currency of this dimension of citizenship. Elsewhere, the concept seemed rather out-of-date. Suddenly, however, citizenship is once more on the lips of politicians, academics and commentators of all political complexions. Why this renewed concern? What is at stake in this debate about citizenship between Right and Left?

A number of different factors seem to be responsible for the return of citizenship to the political agenda. Some derive from the experience of Thatcherism itself: the dismantling of the welfare state, the growing centralisation of power, the erosion of local democracy, of free speech, trade-union and other civil rights.

Some have a wider, more 'global', context: the growth of regional nationalism in Scotland and elsewhere; the prospects for greater European integration; the weakening of the old East-West frontiers under the Gorbachev offensive; the growing pace of international interdependence and globalisation – all, in one way or another, exposing and eroding the sovereignty of the nation-state, the entity to which, until now, the modern language of citizenship primarily referred.

These changes have been accompanied by shifts in attitude towards the idea of citizenship on both the Right and the Left. It used to be fashionable in some sections of the Left to dismiss the question of 'rights' as, largely, a bourgeois fraud. But the experience of Thatcherism in the West and of stalinism in the East has gradually shifted the Left's thinking on this question. The shift on the Right is more complex and uncertain. Thatcherism's drive towards unrestricted private accumulation, its attack on public expenditure, collectivism and the 'dependency culture' made it the natural enemy of citizenship in its modern, welfare-state form. As the prime minister put it: 'There is no such thing as society, only individual men and women and their families.'

However, this unswerving commitment to individualism and the competitive ethic has awakened, in its turn, the spectre of Hobbes' 'war of all against all': the breakdown of a sense of community and interdependence, the weakening of the social fabric and the loosening of the hounds of social violence – so often features of a society dedicated exclusively to competitive self-interest. Thatcherism has therefore rediscovered the need for some concept to help integrate and 'bind' society and has come up with the idea of the 'active citizen', who engages in 'doing good' but in a purely private capacity. In this discourse, citizenship is detached from its modern roots in institutional reform, in the welfare state and community struggles, and rearticulated with the more Victorian concepts of charity, philanthropy and self-help. In more recent versions, the 'active citizen' is decked out in the pious homilies of Thatcherism's version of the New Testament.

Clearly, we need a framework for thinking about citizenship and its place in the agenda of the Left which sets it in the context of recent developments. Far from simply returning us to the old language of citizenship, such an exercise requires us to confront new questions and to rethink the concept itself in the light of a new historical situation.

Does 'citizenship' belong, naturally and exclusively, to the Left? It has been part of what can broadly be identified as a variety of progressive historical movements – from older ideas of a just moral order to Paine's *Rights Of Man* and Chartism. Nevertheless, it seems to be the case that citizenship belongs *exclusively* to neither Right nor Left, nor indeed to centre-ground. Like all the key contested political concepts of our time, it can be appropriated within very different poli-

Paul Bateman



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**'The law in its majestic equality gives every man (prince and pauper alike) an equal right to sleep under a bridge or eat at the Ritz'**

tical discourses and articulated to very different political positions – as its recuperation by the new Right clearly shows. The concept can only mean something decisive for the Left if we are prepared to do some theoretical and political work around it, actively integrating it within a whole set of related political ideas.

While there is no 'essence' to citizenship, it does have a long and rich history with which any new conception must come to terms. From the ancient world to the present day, citizenship has entailed a discussion of, and a struggle over, the meaning and scope of membership of the community in which one lives. Who belongs and what does 'belonging' mean in practice? Membership, here, is not conditional: it is a matter of right and entitlement. But it is two-sided, reciprocal: rights in, but also responsibilities towards, the community. These rights have to be defined and specified, because otherwise their loss cannot be challenged, and may even go undetected. But formal definition alone will not suffice. Rights can be mere paper claims unless they can be practically enacted and realised, through actual participation in the community. These then are citizenship's three leading notions: membership; rights and duties in reciprocity; real participation in practice.

**The issues around membership – who** does and who does not belong – is where the *politics* of citizenship begins. It is impossible to chart the history of the concept very far without coming sharply up against successive attempts to restrict citizenship to certain groups and to exclude others. In different historical periods, different groups have led, and profited from, this 'politics of closure': property-owners, men, white people, the educated, those in particular occupations or with particular skills, adults. However, as the struggles against exclusion have developed and broadened across history, so those stemming from the exclusive enjoyment of the advantages of property, ownership, wealth and privilege – in short, questions of *class* – have come to dominate the 'politics of citizenship', absorbing a wide variety of different struggles against different forms of exclusion under their rubric.

Certainly, class has constituted, historically, one of the most powerful and ramified of barriers to membership and participation by the majority. But this has also set up a tension within the idea of citizenship itself. For, as the politics of citizenship has been absorbed into class politics, so the citizenship idea has lost something of its specific force.

However, this exclusive reference to class is one of the things which is changing with the renewed interest in citizenship. In reality, attempts to restrict membership and participation take many different forms, involving different practices of exclusion and affecting different groups. This should be enough to convince us that questions of citizenship, though bound to place the issues of class at their centre, cannot simply be absorbed into class politics, or thought of exclusively in class terms, and in relation to capitalist relations of production.

A contemporary 'politics of citizenship' must take into account the role which the social movements have played in *expanding* the claims to rights and entitlements to new areas. It must address not only issues of class and inequality, but also questions of membership posed by feminism, the black and ethnic movements, ecology (including the moral claims of the animal species and of Nature itself) and vulnerable minorities, like children. But it must also come to terms with the problems posed by 'difference' in a deeper sense: for example, the diverse communities to which we belong, the complex interplay of identity and identification in modern society, and the differentiated ways in which people now participate in social life. The diversity of arenas in which citizenship is being claimed and contested today is essential to any modern conception of it because it is inscribed in the very logic of modern society itself.

However, this expansion of the idea of citizenship may run counter to the logic of citizenship, which has tended to absorb 'differences' into one common, universal status – the citizen. In the year of the anniversary of the French Revolution, it is worth recalling that its three cardinal principles – liberty, equality and fraternity – formed a matrix within which the citizens of the new Republic claimed *universal* recognition on the basis of a common *equality*. This language of theoretical universality and equality is what distinguished this moment – the moment of the 'Rights of Man' – from earlier phases in the long march of citizenship. But in the light of the expansion and diversity of claims discussed above, the question must be posed as to whether the variety and range of entitlements can be adequately expressed through or represented by a single, universal status like 'citizenship'. Is there now an irreconcilable tension between the thrust to equality and universality entailed in the very idea of the 'citizen', and the variety of particular and specific needs, of diverse sites and practices which constitute the modern political subject?

We will come back to this question of 'difference' later – it is, in some ways, the joker in the citizenship pack. However, what the previous discussion makes clear is that contemporary claims to citizenship are interrelated with a range of other political questions. What we think about this range of political questions will inevitably affect what we think about citizenship itself.

**What does the language of citizenship** rights really mean in contemporary society? And who are the subjects of such rights? Citizenship rights are *entitlements*. Such entitlements are public and social (hence Mrs Thatcher's difficulties with them). They are 'of right' and can only be abrogated by the state under clearly delimited circumstances (eg, in the case of imprisonment, which curtails liberties which all citizens should otherwise enjoy). However, though citizenship is a social status, its rights are entitlements to individuals. Individual citizens enjoy such entitlements on the basis of a fundamental equality of condition – ie, their membership of the community.

Citizenship rights establish a legiti-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**TIME TO GO!** brings together individuals from all walks of life who are concerned that the 'troubles' are being needlessly prolonged.

Opinion polls in Britain for ten years have shown that a majority favour some kind of withdrawal. Discussion on how this can be achieved must be placed on the political agenda. Time To Go! is turning popular opinion into a movement for change.

The TIME TO GO! SHOW on 17/18 June is a two-day brainstorm to do just that. 70 sessions on politics, economics, and culture. Video festival. Childrens' festival.

Contributors include: *Diane Abbott MP* ● *Gerry Adams MP* ● *Bruce Anderson* ● *Victoria Brittain* ● *Ken Currie* ● *Paul Foot* ● *Ken Livingstone MP* ● *Seamus Mallon MP* ● *Nell McCafferty* ● *Eamonn McCann* ● *Scarlet MccGwire* ● *David McKitterick* ● *Clare Short MP* ● *Margaret Ward* ●

Venue: City University, Northampton Sq. London EC1

✂

● Register me for the TIME TO GO! SHOW (£15.00 in advance)
● Please accept £ ..... to help find a peaceful solution
☐ Send more information/ the Time To Go! charter

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Postcode ..... Phone .....

Send to: Clare Short MP (TTG) House of Commons, London SW1 or phone 01 249 3626 (24 hour) (cheques payable 'Time To Go!') MT

*Independent*

# Traveller

£1.20

## Thinking of Travelling

**The essential read for the thinking traveller**
**Available from all good newsagents**
**or direct through subscription.**

**NEXT ISSUE Out June/July**

**JAPAN**
**EGYPT**
*A superb article you won't want to miss!*
**MORE ON CHINA**
**TRAVELLING WITH DISABILITIES**
**WOMAN TRAVELLER**

**SUBSCRIPTION**
*£4.80 FOR 4 ISSUES*
*(Overseas - £7.00)*

**Independent Traveller, Subscriptions,**
**1 The Pavement, Clapham, LONDON SW4 0HY**

Name .....
Address .....
.....

**IN CASE OF DIFFICULTY**
*Available from above address £1.50 INC. P+P.*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**'The weaknesses and limitations of a purely statist conception of citizenship have become much more obvious in the light of recent history'**

mate sphere for *all* individuals to pursue their actions and activities without risk of arbitrary or unjust political interference. Early attempts to achieve citizenship involved a struggle for the autonomy or independence of individuals from the locale in which they were born and from prescribed occupations. Later struggles have involved such things as individual entitlement to freedom of speech, expression, belief, information, as well as the freedom of association on which trade-union rights depend, and freedom of women in relation to marriage and property. Citizenship rights can therefore be thought of as a measure of the autonomy an individual citizen enjoys as a result of his or her status as 'free and equal' members of a society. The other important feature is that, though they are guaranteed to citizens *by* the state, they are also, in an important sense, guaranteed *against* the arbitrary exercise of state power. Citizenship in its full sense therefore combines, in rather unusual ways, the public and the social with the individual aspects of political life.

The left critique of this position is by now quite familiar, and carries considerable weight. It centres on the emphasis, in the language of rights, on *individual* entitlement. There are really three strands to this critique. First, the degree to which individuals really are 'free' in capitalist democracies is open to question. Second, everything depends on how freedom is defined. The rights and freedoms which interest the new Right refer to a very narrow arena of social action, and are constructed around a very limited conception of individual needs and desires. Largely, these are restricted to individuals as isolated atoms, acting in their own interests, maximised through exchange in the marketplace. Rights are not considered to have a social dimension or an interdependent character. Third, citizenship rights, particularly in Britain, are largely defined negatively. There are no laws preventing you entering the Ritz or buying property in Docklands or applying for most jobs. Whether in fact you have the means or the capacity to do or achieve any of those things, positively, is a quite different matter. In the famous words of Anatole France: 'The law in its majestic equality gives every man (prince and pauper alike) an equal right to sleep under a bridge or eat at the Ritz.'

This is really another way of restating the Left's critique of classic liberalism in terms of the tension between 'formal' and 'substantive' rights. The citizen may formally enjoy 'equality before the law'. But, important though this unquestionably is, does he or she *also* have the material and cultural resources to choose between different courses of action in practice? The 'free and equal individual', as one commentator suggests, is a person found more rarely in practice, than liberal theory suggests. What liberal theory, in both its classic and contemporary forms, takes for granted has, in fact, to be seriously questioned. Namely, whether the existing relations between men and women, between employers and employees, between the social classes, or blacks, whites and other ethnic groups, allow citizenship to become a reality in practice.

This question lies at the centre of the 'politics of citizenship' today. Any current assessment of citizenship must be made on the basis of liberties and rights which are tangible, capable of being enjoyed, in both the state and civil society. If it is not given concrete and practical content, liberty as an abstract principle can scarcely be said to have any very profound consquences for everyday life. It is difficult to hymn the praises of liberty, when massive numbers of actual individuals are systematically restricted – for want of a complex mix of resources and opportunites – from participating actively in political and civil life. Gross inequalities of class, sex and race substantively hinder the extent to which it can legitimately be claimed that individuals are really 'free and equal' in contemporary society.

There is therefore, much of substance to the Left's critique of the liberal conception of citizenship. On the other hand, this may have led us to go too far in the opposite direction. We must test every 'formal' right we are supposed to enjoy against its substance in practice. But this does not mean that the formal definition of rights – for example, in a constitution or bill of rights – is unimportant, or a matter of 'mere form'. Until rights have been specified, there is no way of monitoring their infringement or of calling to account their practical implementation.

**In general, what this discussion suggests is** that the 'politics of citizenship' today must come to terms with, and attempt to strike a new balance between, the individual and the social dimensions of citizenship rights. These two aspects are interdependent and cannot be separated. Neither, on its own, will suffice. On the other hand, there is no *necessary* contradiction between them.

The new Right would argue exactly the opposite, and this is one reason why the relationship between the individual and the social dimensions of rights becomes one of the key issues at stake in exchanges between the the new Right and its left critics. The new Right has a very clear and consistent position on the question and the related issues of freedom and equality.

The new Right is committed to the classic liberal doctrine that the collective good can be properly realised in most cases *only* by private individuals acting in competitive isolation, pursuing their interests with minimal state interference. At root, the new Right is concerned with how to advance the cause of 'liberalism' against 'democracy' (or, as they put it, 'freedom' against 'equality') by limiting the possible uses of state power. On this view, the government can only legitimately intervene in society to enforce *general rules* – formal rules which broadly protect, in John Locke's works, the 'life, liberty and estate' of the citizen. Hayek, a leading advocate of these ideas, argues that a free liberal order is incompatible with rules which specify how people should use the means at their disposal. Governments become coercive if they interfere with people's capacity to determine their own objectives. Hence the reliance in Hayek's work on 'law', his critique of the so-called 'totalitarianism' involved in social planning and rejection of the idea that the state can represent the 'public interest'.

Hayek's prime example of coercive government is legislation which attempts to alter the 'material position of particular people or enforce distributive or "social" justice'. Distributive justice, he argues, always imposes on some person or group someone else's conception of merit or desert. It requires the allocation of resources by a central authority acting *as if* it knew what people should receive for their efforts or how to behave. In his view, there is only one mechanism sufficiently sensitive to determine collective choice on an individual basis without such imposition – the free market. When protected by a constitutional state and a framework of law, it is argued, no system provides a mechanism of collective choice as dynamic, innovative and responsive. The free market is, for the new Right, the key condition of the liberty of citizens. When operating within the framework of a minimal state, it thus becomes constitutive of the nature of citizenship itself.

The Left has always taken issue with this line of argument. The free market, it has argued, produces and reinforces those very forms of exclusion and 'closure' associated with private property and wealth, against which the idea of citizenship was directed. Hence, through the redistributive welfare state, the prerogatives of property and wealth had to be cross-cut, modified or, in T H Marshall's famous phrase, 'abated', by the countervailing rights of citizenship. In practice, the only force of sufficiently compelling weight to bring to bear against the powers of property and capital was that of the state. Hence, for the Left, the state was not inimical but essential to the very idea of citizenship.

It is indeed difficult to see how a proper conception of citizenship could be established or effectively secured without the intervention of the state. On the other hand, it is not necessary to accept Hayek's line of reasoning to see that citizenship also entails the protection of the citizen *against* the arbitrary overweening exercise of state power. The weaknesses and limitations of a purely 'statist' conception of citizenship have become much more obvious in the light of recent history.

There is, then, an inevitable tension in the Left's position on citizenship, since it both requires and can be threatened by the state. One tendency of the Left has been to resolve or bypass this difficulty by, so to speak, dissolving the whole question into that of democracy itself. The extension of popular democracy, it is



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism Today

# Free t-shirt when you subscribe

**With New Times, Marxism Today is meeting the challenge of the 1990s. A subscription will provide a monthly mix which will intrigue, inspire and occasionally infuriate.**

**Take advantage of our direct-debit offer and you will also receive FREE our New Times T-Shirt, worth £7.50. Based on our New Times cover, designed by Jan Brown, the t-shirt is a bright splash of colour — red, yellow, orange and blue. The t-shirt comes in extra-large, big and breezy for summer days.**

**What's more, direct debit is a far simpler way to subscribe, you send no money now and you let your bank worry about the renewal payments. A great offer from a great magazine.**

**DIRECT DEBIT OFFER WITH T-SHIRT**

**PLEASE** send me my **FREE** New Times T-Shirt

**START** my subscription with the ..... issue of Marxism Today.

Your Name _____

Your Address _____

_____ Postcode _____

**DIRECT DEBIT INSTRUCTIONS**

To the Manager _____

(Full name and address of your bank branch)

Name(s) of Account Holders _____

Bank sort code ☐☐ ☐☐ ☐☐ Account number ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

**DIRECT DEBIT INSTRUCTION**

**I instruct you to pay Direct Debits from my account at the request of Marxism Today. The first debit will be at the present annual rate of £17 with all subsequent debits being claimed at the current annual subscription rate. I understand that Marxism Today may only change the rate of subscription and payment date after giving me advance notice. I will inform the bank in writing if I wish to cancel this instruction and understand that if any direct debit is paid which breaks the terms of this instruction, the bank will make a refund.**

Signature(s) _____ Date _____

**Please return to (no stamp needed); Marxism Today,**
**FREEPOST,**
**5 Riverpark Estate, Billet Lane,**
**Berkhamsted, Herts HP4 1BR**
**This offer is only valid in the UK & Ireland.**
**Originator's Identification No. 971520**


RAVEN
PRINTING CO-OPERATIVE

• DESIGN •
ARTWORK
PRINTING
FINISHING

*We are proud to say that we do not now and have never discriminated on the grounds of race, gender, religion, sexuality, age or disability.*

*Wherever possible we use low chlorinated or recycled stock which is friendly to the environment.*

Raven for all your printing needs.
75 Piccadilly Manchester M1 2BU
061 228 2901



EASTWEST
CO-PRODUCTION

VHS VIDEOS £17.75 (inc. P&P & VAT)

**NEWCASTLE**

***"From Marx and Engels to Marks and Spencer"***

The idea for a joint East/West production came after discussion with filmmaker Winfried Junge. Channel 4 and DEFA (the East German film organisation) agreed to support the project and gave the crews the right to film openly in each other's countries. Both agreed to concentrate on similar areas: Rostock, a modern port which is the centre of the GDR's fishing and shipbuilding industries, and Newcastle, with its declining shipbuilding industry and the fishing port of North Shields.

1988 Running time: 57 mins.

**ROSTOCK**

***"From Marks and Spencer to Marx and Engels"***

Completed in 1988, the film concentrates on two groups of workers in the Rostock area. The largest employer – the shipyards – provides the first, a brigade of women crane drivers, who talk about their work and their domestic lives. The second is a fishing co-operative who, after the war, set themselves the task of de-privatising the fishing industry.

The film ignores the "propagandist" concerns of both sides of the Iron Curtain and reveals that the people of the GDR are in many ways similar to those on Tyneside.

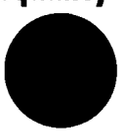
1988 Running time: 57 mins.

AVAILABLE FROM:
Side Distribution, 5 Side (Rear)
Newcastle upon Tyne NE1 3JE. Tel: (091) 232 2000




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**'In the relationship between citizenship and democracy is entailed a new balance – a new settlement – between liberty and equality'**



thought, will resolve all these knotty problems. Hence the Left's advocacy of collective decision-making and democratic participation as a resolution to all the problems of citizenship. Why bother to define and entrench specific rights if, in an expanded democracy, every individual is destined to become 'fully sovereign'? Thus, by focusing squarely on the extension of democracy, the Left has tended to leave any further specification of particular citizenship rights, and the complex relations between liberty, social justice and democratic processes, to the ebb and flow of democratic negotiation. From Karl Marx to Lenin to Roy Hattersley (in his recent defence of Labour Party policy against Charter 88) this is a constant and recurring theme. 'The people' are to become sovereign (via, respectively, the Commune, Soviets, Parliament). 'The people' are to become governors of their own affairs – without limit, so the argument runs. Within this broad democratic advance, the specific questions of citizenship and the difficulty of defining particular rights will take care of themselves.

**This 'democratic' solution is in many ways** an attractive argument. But it presents certain real difficulties. It is vulnerable to the charge of having failed to address the highly complex relations in modern societies between individual liberty, distributional questions of social justice, and democratic processes. It does not really resolve the question of who 'the people' are whose democratic sovereignty and enfranchisement is supposed to settle at a single stroke so many questions about particular rights. And it poses the extremely awkward issue of whether there are to be any specifiable limits to democracy. In short, is 'democracy' alone, unsupplemented and unmodified by any concept of citizenship, any longer enough?

Should there be any limits on the power of 'the people' to change or alter political circumstances? The experience of 10 years of 'elective dictatorship' under Mrs Thatcher may have changed the Left's thinking on this question. For example, should the winning of a majority vote at an election constitute a mandate to destroy parts of the system of local government which has been so important a counterweight to the encroaching powers of a centralising state – especially if achieved under our highly lopsided, first-past-the-post electoral system? Should the nature and scope of the liberty of individuals be left entirely to the 'play' of democratic decision? Don't individuals need to have their rights to freedom of speech, thought and expression protected? Must minorities conform, simply because they are minorities?

By answering questions about the necessary limits to democracy in the affirmative, the new Right at least recognises the possibility of real tensions between individual liberty, collective decision-making and the institutions and processes of democracy. By not systematically addressing these issues, the Left, in contrast, has perhaps too hastily put aside the problems. In making democracy, at all levels, the primary social objective to be achieved, the Left has relied on 'democratic reason' - a wise and good democratic will – for the determination of all just and positive social outcomes. But can 'the people' always be relied upon to be just to minorities or to marginal and so-called 'unpopular' interests? Can one assume that the democratic will will always be wise and good?

This is not a matter of abstract theoretical debate. It is around some of these tensions that the new Right generated so much political capital against the Left. It forced the Left to acknowledge the uncertain outcomes of democratic life: the ambiguous results of the welfare state, for example. It highlighted the fact that distributive justice can also lead to bureaucracy, surveillance and the excessive infringement of individual options (and not only in Eastern Europe). It represented the reallocation of resources by the local state (for example, in the form of 'equal opportunities' and 'anti-racist programmes') as an imposition of minority interests on the majority! These experiences have not necessarily made people more optimistic about collective democratic decision-making or more ready to fight to defend it.

Take the question of 'popular sovereignty'. Will the fact that we are all members of the great, collective democratic subject – 'the people' – provide a guarantee of the rights and the liberties of the individual citizen? Not necessarily. 'The people' is, after all, also a discursive figure, a rhetorical device, a mode of address. It is open to constant negotiation, contestation and redefinition. It represents, as a 'unity', what are in fact a diversity of different positions and interests. In its populist form – 'giving the people what they want' – it has been exploited by Thatcherism as a form of populist mobilisation against a range of different minorities who are 'not one of us'.

'The people' has also functioned so as to silence or marginalise the conflicts of interest which it claims to represent. Thatcherism has operated within a narrow and exclusive definition of 'the people'. It defines 'the people' as those who identify with or have done well out of the enterprise culture. But since, in reality, only a small number of prosperous people, mainly living in parts of the south east, can be represented in this figure, it is in effect a way of suppressing the rights, marginalising the needs and denying the identities of large numbers of other 'people' – including the Scots, the poor, the unemployed, the homeless, the underclasses, black people, many women, single-parent mothers, gay and lesbian people, and so on. Far from resolving anything, it is a highly-contested and contestable idea, around which a great deal of 'ideological work' is constantly going on.

Then there is the problem of what political entity the citizen is a citizen *of*. Everywhere, the nation-state itself – the entity to which the language of political citizenship refers – is eroded and challenged. The processes of economic, political, military and ecological interdependence are beginning to undermine it as a sovereign, self-contained entity from above. The rise of regional and local 'nationalisms' are beginning to erode it from below. In certain respects, this may have negative consequences for citizenship: how to give effect to the 'rights' of the citizens of Bhopal against chemical pollution caused by a multinational company registered in New York and operating worldwide? In other respects, its consequences for citizenship may be positive. The European Court has certainly provided a critical bulwark for the citizen of the UK against the steady erosion of civil liberties under Thatcherism. But whether these processes work to the advantage or disadvantage of citizenship, the question remains: is this the right moment, historically, to be trying to define claims and entitlements made in terms of membership of the nation-state?

**There are then all kinds of problems which** undermine any certainty that greater democracy will, in and of itself, resolve the dilemmas of citizenship. Is there any way through this impasse?

One point which does follow directly from the foregoing discussion can be stated clearly, and provides us with a fresh start. There is a need to think through, and give institutional expression to, the demands of citizenship and democracy as closely-related issues: but it is important to keep these questions distinct. Democracy can only really exist on the basis of 'free and equal citizens'. But citizenship requires some specification, and some institutional and political protection, separate from and beyond the extension of democracy. In short, in the relationship between citizenship and democracy is entailed a new balance – a new settlement – between liberty and equality.

Can the parameters of such a 'new settlement' be further specified? It appears that a plausible resolution of some of the dilemmas of contemporary politics can only be provided if enhanced political participation is embedded in a legal and constitutional framework that protects and nurtures individuals and other social categories as 'free and equal citizens'. However, to go down that road has some real political consequences. It requires us, for example, to recognise the importance of a number of fundamental tenets, often dismissed because of their association with liberalism; for example, the centrality, in principle, of an 'impersonal' structure of public power; the need for a constitution to help guarantee and protect rights; a diversity of power centres, both within the state and outside it, in civil society; mechanisms to promote open debate between alternative political platforms; an institutional framework of enforceable and challengeable rights.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism Today

# READERS OFFERS FOR NEW TIMES

**1.** NEW TIMES MUG
Features our October "New Times Sunrise" cover design by Jan Brown.

**2.** NEW TIMES TAPE
An exclusive recording of a talk, "The Meaning of New Times", given by Stuart Hall at the North London Marxism Today New Times Event. Plus still available, tapes of a talk given by Stuart Hall on "Gramsci and Us".

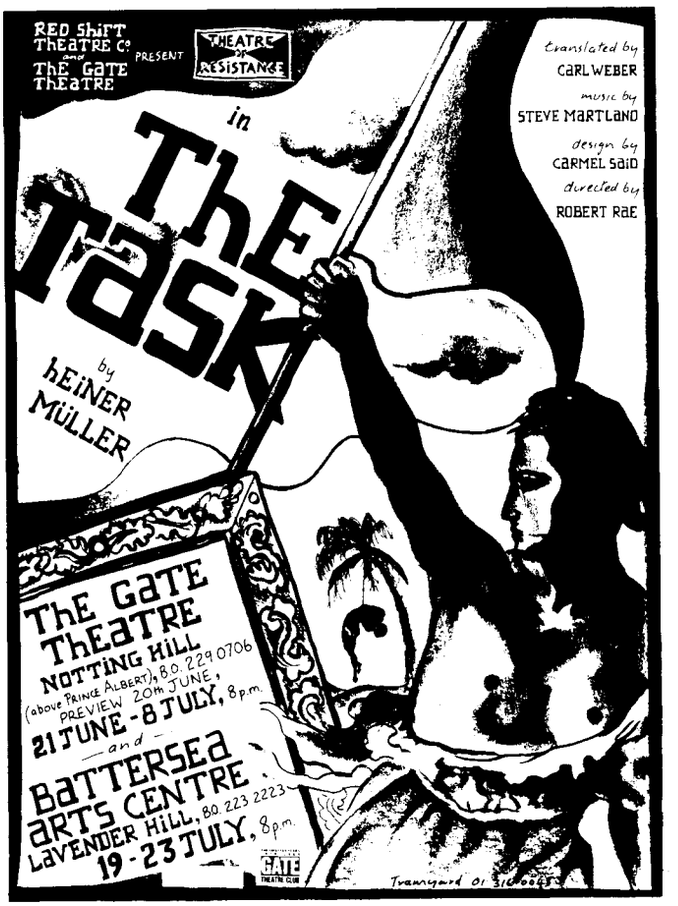
**3.** NEW TIMES T-SHIRT
A bright New Times splash of colour; red, yellow, orange and blue on a high-quality white cotton t-shirt. Available in the big and breezy extra-large size.

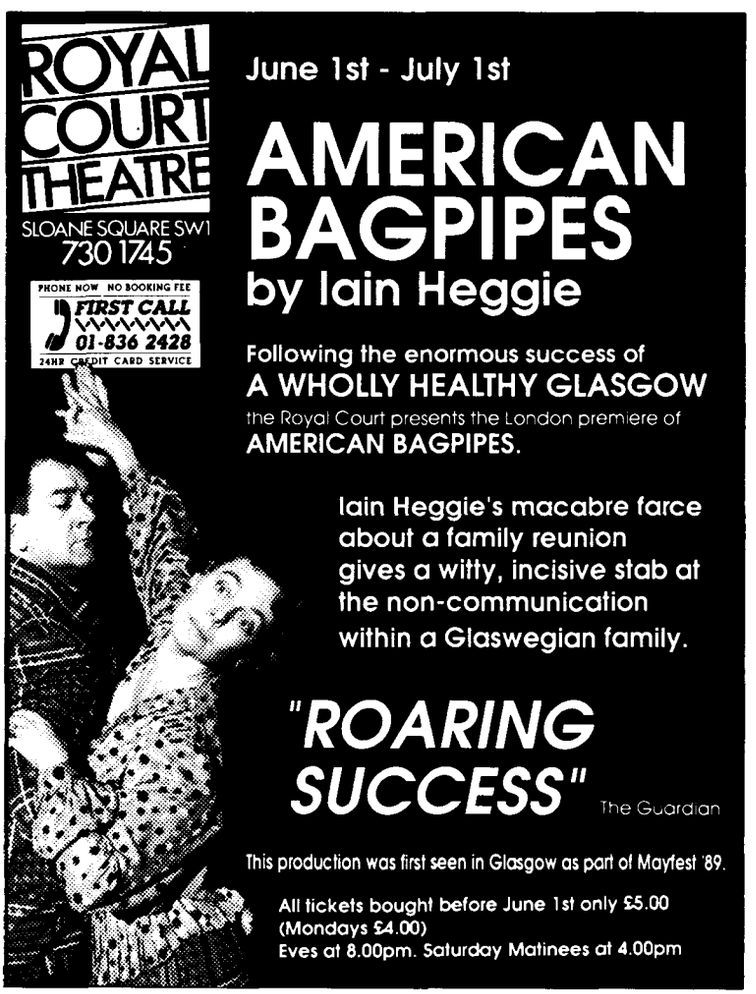
| Item | Price | Qty | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. New Times Mug | £2.75 | | |
| 2. New Times Tape | £3.50 | | |
| 2a. Gramsci Tape | £3.50 | | |
| 3. New Times T-Shirt | £7.50 | | |

Name _____
Address _____
Postcode _____
Tel No _____
Cheques payable to Marxism Today

Signature _____

Send to: Marxism Today Merchandising,
16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.
Tel: 01-608 0265.



ROYAL COURT THEATRE
SLOANE SQUARE SW1
730 1745
PHONE NOW NO BOOKING FEE
FIRST CALL
01-836 2428
24HR CREDIT CARD SERVICE
June 1st - July 1st
AMERICAN BAGPIPES
by Iain Heggie
Following the enormous success of
A WHOLLY HEALTHY GLASGOW
the Royal Court presents the London premiere of
AMERICAN BAGPIPES.
Iain Heggie's macabre farce about a family reunion gives a witty, incisive stab at the non-communication within a Glaswegian family.
"ROARING SUCCESS" The Guardian
This production was first seen in Glasgow as part of Mayfest '89.
All tickets bought before June 1st only £5.00
(Mondays £4.00)
Eves at 8.00pm. Saturday Matinees at 4.00pm




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**'Charter 88 is a necessary but not a sufficient means for people to establish themselves in their capacity as citizens'**

In many countries, West and East, the limits of 'government' are explicity defined in constitutions and bills of rights which are subject to public scrutiny, parliamentary review and judicial process. The Left has sometimes been impatient with this procedural approach – and it is certainly true that no written constitution or judicial review, alone, has been able to guarantee the rights of the citizen against a state which is determined to abolish or reduce them. Nevertheless, the experience of recent history suggests that this idea is fundamental to democracy, conceived as a process which bites deep into the structure of state and society. Constitutional entrenchment, however, is not enough. Any conception of democracy which seeks to elaborate it as a form of 'socialist pluralism' requires the limits on 'public power' to be reassessed in relation to a far broader range of issues than has been hitherto commonly presupposed.

What would be included in such an expanded system of rights? A constitution or bill of rights which enshrined the idea of the 'double focus' of citizenship – equal rights and equal practices – would have to specify rights with respect to the *processes* that determine outcomes. Thus, not only equal rights to cast a vote, but also to enjoy the conditions of political understanding, involvement in collective decision-making and setting of the political agenda which make the vote meaningful. These conditions for real political participation include, rights with respect to information, education, the 'right to know', including the defence of the right to make public things which governments prefer to keep under official restriction. There would have to be a bundle of social rights linked to reproduction, childcare and health; and economic rights to ensure adequate economic and financial resources for a citizen's autonomy. Without tough social and economic rights, rights with respect to the state could not be enjoyed in practice; and without rights in respect of the state, new forms of inequality of power, wealth and status could systematically disrupt the implementation of social and economic liberties.

For example, a right to reproductive freedom for women entails making public authorities responsible, not only for medical and social facilities to prevent or assist pregnancy, but also for providing the material conditions which help to make the choice to have a child a genuinely free one. A right to the capacity really to choose between courses of action obliges the state to implement ways of distributing wealth and income much more equitably. One way of making such resources available may be a guaranteed minimum income for all adults, irrespective of whether they are engaged in wage or household-labour. Strategies of this type have to be treated with caution since their implications for collective or societal wealth-creation are complex and not fully clear. However, without a minimum guaranteed resource-base, many people will remain highly vulnerable and dependent on the charity or goodwill of others – a condition which, despite Mrs Thatcher's passion for replacing welfare rights with private philanthropy, is in contradiction with the very idea of citizenship.

Such a system of rights must specify certain responsibilities of the state to groups of citizens, which particular governments could not (unless permitted by an explicit process of constitutional amendment) override. The authority of the state – even of a much more democratic one than we enjoy at the moment – would thus, in principle, be clearly circumscribed; its capacity for freedom of action to a certain degree bounded. This challenges some fundamental assumptions still widely held on the Left.

We would go further. The important point about such a constitution or bill of rights would be that it radically enhances the ability of citizens to take action *against* the state (including a socialist state) to redress unreasonable encroachments on liberties. This would help tip the balance from state to parliament and from parliament to citizens. It would be an 'empowering' system, breaking with any assumption that the state can successfully define citizens' wants and needs for them, and become the 'caretaker of existence'. It would redefine the balance between state and civil society, which is at the heart of so much rethinking, from Left and Right alike.

Of course, empowerment would not thereby be guaranteed. But rights could be fought for by individuals, groups and movements and could be tested in, among other places, open court. The American system makes it clear that this can lead to interminable wrangles, social change getting delayed and bogged down in 'due process' within the system. On the other hand, the European Convention on Human Rights has been a better defence of civil liberties than Britain's more venerable, customary arrangements. On balance, the gains from going in this direction are preferable to the present situation where it is extremely difficult to bring our archaic state system, operating so much of the time on the basis of undefined 'club' rules, to any open accountability.

Enter Charter 88. Charter 88 is rightly concerned with enshrining the rights and liberties of British subjects in a bill of rights and a constitution – and thereby making them 'citizens' for the first time in their history. The Charter is an immediate and practical intervention in current political discussion of the first importance and, as such, is to be welcomed and endorsed. But, if the argument above is correct, then it is a necessary but not a sufficient means for people to establish themselves in their capacity as citizens. In the context of the long-term struggle for socialism, it can be seen as one, but only one, essential moment in the elaboration of a diverse range of new rights and their conditions of existence.

The question of difference, however, which we discussed earlier, raises much deeper, more troubling issues, which are not easily resolved in the short term. Older European ideas of citizenship assumed a more culturally-homogeneous population, within the framework of a strong and unitary national state. It seemed appropriate, therefore, to believe that widening the democratic franchise and participation of all citizens would, naturally, enlarge the freedoms, rights and liberties of everyone.

But social and cultural identities have become more diversified and 'pluralised' in modern society. The modern nation-state is increasingly composed of groups with very different ethnic and cultural identities. Many of these groups belong to other histories, cultures and traditions very different from those of the indigenous people. These cultural differences are crucial to their sense of identity, identification and 'belongingness'. Similar differences are also beginning to show through in the communities and regions which originally constituted the United Kingdom. These differences present new challenges to, and produce new tensions within, what we called earlier the 'universalising' thrust in the idea of citizenship.

Of course, permanent residents in the society, whatever their differences of origin, history and culture, must be able to claim common rights and entitlements, as full members of the political community, without giving up their cultural identities. This is a key entitlement in any modern conception of citizenship – especially in societies whose populations are increasingly culturally and ethnically diverse. But this may not resolve all the problems. Differences of all kinds will continue to create *special and particular* needs, over and above those which can be addressed within a universalistic conception of citizenship. As the Rushdie affair demonstrates, it is not always possible to keep universal political claims and particularly cultural ones in separate compartments. They keep overlapping and invading each other's territory.

The politics of citizenship, in sum, throws us into the deep end of some very profound, general, theoretical concerns about politics as well as posing a set of complex organisational issues. To think it through – a project only just beginning – we need to attend to both dimensions. The elements of equality and universality associated with the idea of 'the citizen', and the diverse and particular requirements of different groups which have to be met if they are to enjoy 'free and equal' status, demand that the Left clarify, more profoundly than it has so far, both the principles of the politics of citizenship and their institutional requirements. What is at stake is nothing less than reformulating socialism to take better account of 'citizenship' and the conditions and limits this imposes on state action and political strategy. ●

**Different elements of the argument in this article are elaborated in Stuart Hall, *The Voluntary Sector Under Attack* (an IVAC publication) and in David Held, *Political Theory And The Modern State* (Polity Press, forthcoming, July).**

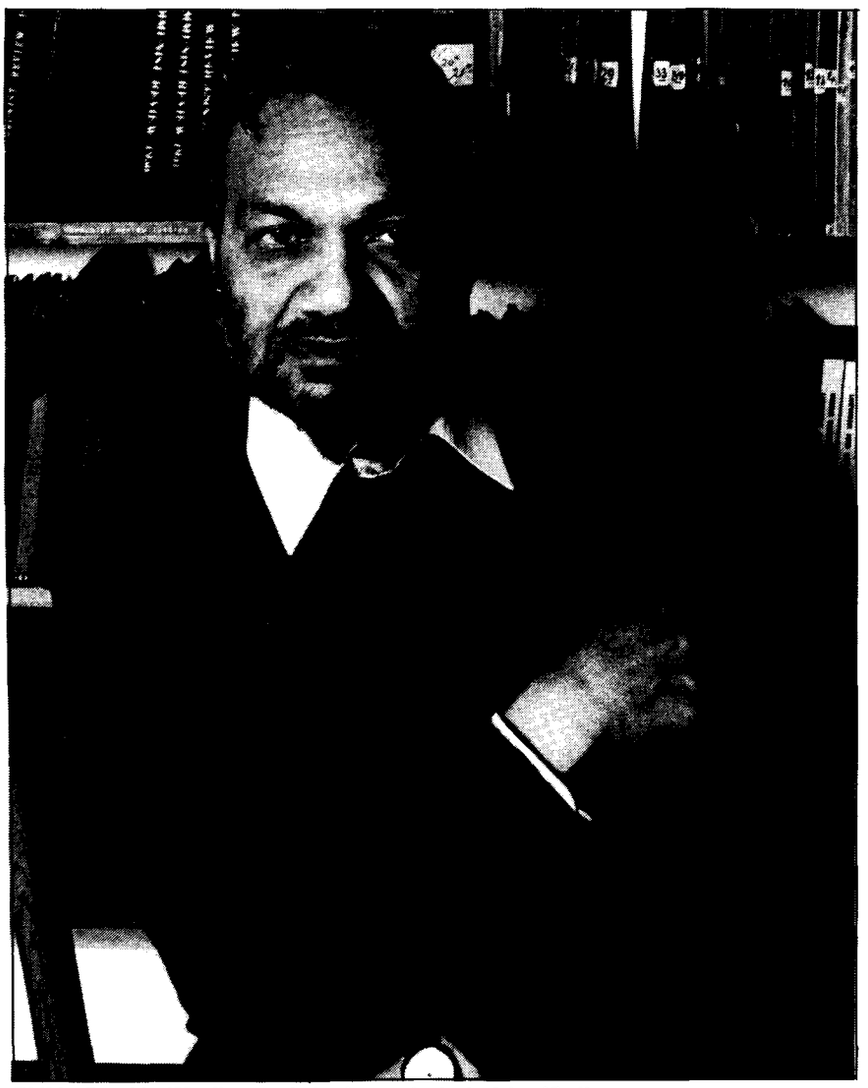


PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Identities On Parade

## A Conversation

The Rushdie affair has revealed a deep crisis in Britain's social fabric. It is about a struggle for identity and a stake in our cultural life



**Bhikhu Parekh: 'Muslims are being increasingly de-Islamified'**

**The conversation is between Homi Bhabha and Bhikhu Parekh. Homi is a lecturer in literary and cultural theory at Sussex University, and editor of *Nation And Narration* (forthcoming, Routledge); and Bhikhu is professor of political theory at Hull University and Deputy Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality**

**Homi** I'd like to start by looking at the notion of the 'sacred' because I thought that was a central issue in the Rushdie affair. You have talked, Bhikhu, about the sacred as that which is beyond utilitarian considerations, and has an intrinsic or non-instrumental significance. I understood you to be saying by this that the sacred is a category which stands between East and West. It's not religion in a narrow sense, but it is the symbols, values and qualities of life that hold a community together. But around the *Satanic Verses* crisis, for instance in Bradford, what is sacred has evolved through local politics, debates around education and power structures within the Muslim community.

**Bhikhu** If you are suggesting that the sacred can be chartered in the service of economic and political causes, I readily agree. In Iran it has been systematically used to silence opposition and to mobilise the masses in the interest of a specific economic and political system. The same is the case in Britain. The Muslims, even the most devout ones, do not live by religion alone. The mullahs, as well as the so-called progressive Muslim leaders who act as brokers between the state and their community, have a good deal to gain by encouraging their followers to define themselves primarily in religious terms. This is one way they can retain their power base and attract money from British and international sources.

Several surveys have shown that a substantial section of Muslim youth in Britain do *not* approve of separate Muslim schools and the religious definition and concomitant restraints that are imposed on them. This makes it all the more urgent for those with vested interests to raise the cry of Islam or Islamic values being in danger.

But I also had in mind a slightly different notion of the sacred. The self is not a substance nor an automatic process, but an unending act of self-enactment. It is necessarily defined and developed in the context of the individual's relations to nature and to society. The immigrant is faced with an acute problem here. Let me give a personal example. I grew up in India. That growing up with a certain sense of smell, climate, sounds, views, a and a specific pattern of social relationships and expectations. When I came to Britain that natural context was lost and, since I did not 'live' within the immigrant community, the social context was also lost. I found myself becoming an abstract 'I', left with little more than a bundle of detached and increasingly empty memories. I had to recreate a new self out of the old one and my newly-acquired experiences and sensibilities. It is this painful process of self-creation and giving a meaning to my life that I consider deeply sacred.

Most immigrants proceed along a different route. They live together and rely on collective historical memories and images to counter their increaing self-alienation. Unlike personal memories, historical memories are objective, institutionalised in traditions, beliefs and practices. They become a source of meaning, a way of guarding against insanity and of providing some social and cultural depth. They also relate you to others, both in Britain and the countries of your origin, keeping alive the idea of an eventual 'return'. Immigrants often buy land in their home countries with a view to eventually returning there to 'bury their bones' or spend their old age.

**Homi** I very much want to stress this notion of cultural displacement, because I think another important issue in the *Satanic Verses* is the doubt, guilt and self-questioning that emerges from this displacement.

But it is very important to see that the immigrant's experience of culture and their construction of identity becomes a hybrid. The return to home, the return to a religion, must be seen not as something that comes from the past, but that is also being reproduced here within a different framework. It's the past in the present



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and is something new. Using the context of a magical-realist book, a postmodern fiction, to raise questions of the sacred, is a new form of an originary culture.

People have misunderstood this. They just think that old- sounding, or archaic beliefs must somehow be relegated to an archaic past. I think that's wrong: it leads to stereotyping communities' demands as somehow irrelevant to modern society, when these are wholly contemporary demands.

**Bhikhu** It has always struck me that the 'cyclical' theory of time comes very easily to an immigrant. There is a past, which is then ruptured and to which the present bears little relation. That leads to self- fragmentation, a painful state which one copes with by hoping that the present is only an aberration and that the future will either reconcile the past and present, or represent a happy return to the romanticised past.

Your other point is also well taken: what you recreate in a new environment is never the same as what you left behind. What was a richly-nuanced body of beliefs and practices gets abbreviated into a set of abstract formulae, and a tradition degenerates into an ideology. It's in that context that I would like to understand so-called fundamentalism. Every civilisation rejuvenates itself periodically by returning to its past, recapturing its central principles and reinterpreting them in the light of the present. The basic principles obviously cannot be revived in their pristine form, but they do guide choices, give confidence and anchorage and preserve a sense of continuity. This is what happened during the Renaissance and the Reformation.

When however, a group feels beseiged and afraid of losing its past in exchange for a nebulous future, it lacks the courage to critically reinterpret its fundamental principles, lest it opens the door to 'excessive' reinterpretation. It then turns its fundamentals into fundamentalism, it declares them inviolate and reduces them to a neat and easily-enforceable package of beliefs and rituals. I might also say that sometimes fundamentalism is the only available source of a counter-hegemonic discourse.

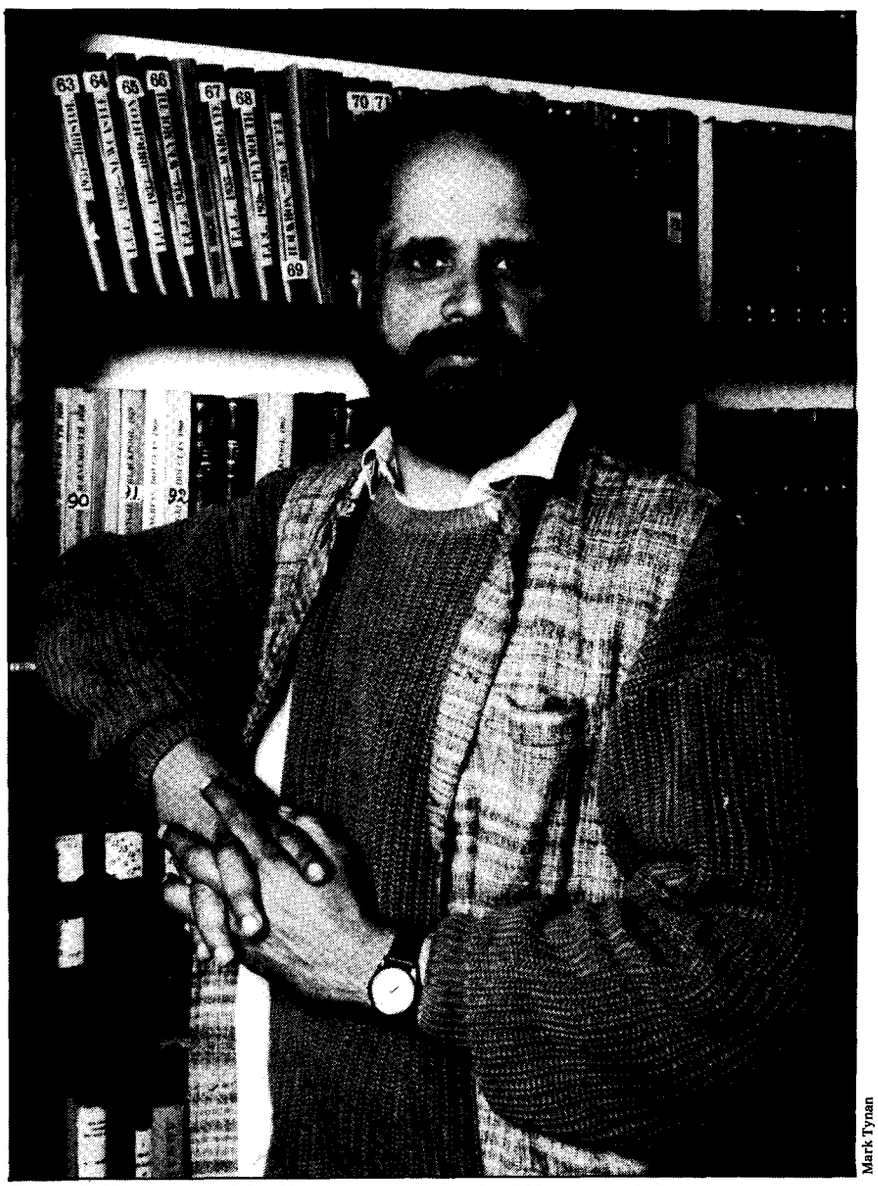
All of us, in our traditional settings, take lots of things about ourselves for granted. We are constantly growing and changing without being aware of it. The immigrant's predicament is different, especially for someone easily distinguishable by their colour or culture. Partly because of the conscious or unconscious pressure of an inhospitable society, partly because of their own sense of unease, they feel forced to *define* themselves, to say to others and even to themselves, *who* they are, *what* constitutes their identity or claim to distinction. So to be a Hindu or a Muslim is to do *a, b* and *c*, and to reject *x,y* or *z*. And this self- definition then becomes a norm to which all members of a specific group are required to conform. In the process its history, traditions, memories, even geography get badly mutilated: clearly evident in the Muslim self-definition in Britain. *The Satanic Verses* has both helped and hindered the process.

**Homi** *The Satanic Verses*, of course, provides a whole replay of that problem of the incommensurability – the impossibility of comparison – of different kinds of cultural positions. It's a book written from the midst of such confusions, and it plays with hybrid identities. But your last point also leads us to the question of how to understand a migrant, post-industrial culture, which is what Britain is today.

The question that is often posed is: 'What do you people want?' It is both a question about individual identities and about cultural and community identities. It seems to me that we have a great attachment to the evolution within the democratic process of a culture that is in some ways harmonious, multicultural, tolerant. But we have also seen around the *Satanic Verses* issue, those elements of the liberal tradition buckle under the strain of questions of the representation of cultural difference. This is salutory, because from the immigrant perspective, all forms of cultural identity – including the British – are constructed through an ambivalent and antagonistic process.

We're challenged by the *Satanic Verses* crisis to face something very deep: that perhaps our models of the social contract, or of harmonious or organic society, should be rethought in terms of the reality of contestation and challenge within co-existing cultural systems. We all recognise the problems with those myths that said if you have a class solidarity then in some way cultural differences will disappear; or if you focus on the issues of race or gender, once we've resolved these inequities we can have a more harmonious and socialistic society. None of these social differences are in themselves simple or pure. Nor can they be seen as universal for all cultural groups: we can't just put them together, run a dialectical analysis through them and out we come into a brave new world!

In a sense, what we're talking about is the problem of modernity: the inability of modernity to deal with 'archaic' cultural forms that it somehow sees as being prior to itself – even though they are not. It is these so-called archaic forms of knowledge that return to question the authority of modernity and reveal its



Mark Tynan

**Homi Bhabha: 'Our models of harmonious society should be rethought'**

**Homi: 'We have seen elements of the liberal tradition buckle under the strain of questions of cultural difference'**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

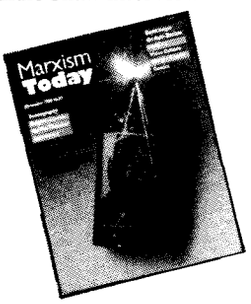
# BACK ISSUES

## VOLUME THIRTY-THREE

**3. March 1989 Cities Cover**
Richard Rogers on New Cities/Green Times/Paddy Ashdown Interview/NHS Review.
**2. Feb 1989 Pacts Cover**
Electoral Pacts/Gorbachev/ Ozone Layer/Göran Therborn on New Times.
**1. Jan 1989 Postmodernism Cover**
Jean Baudrillard and Dick Hebdige on Postmodernism/ Arthur Miller interview/ Review of 1988.

## VOLUME THIRTY-TWO

**12. Dec 1988 Fortress Britain Cover**
New Times Nation/Eric Hobsbawm on US Elections/ Sandie Shaw interview.




**11. Nov 1988 Heath Cover**
Edward Heath interview/ Andrew Gamble on Third Term Thatcherism/Scots Roundtable.
**9. Sept 1988 Royal Opposition Cover**
Royalty and Thatcherism/Eric Hammond and John Edmonds interviews/*Facing up to the Future* Supplement.
**8. August 1988 Demon Drink Cover**
Alcoholism and Health/Roy Medvedev interview/TV revolution.

Marxism Today

**10. Oct 1988 New Times Cover**
A Marxism Today Special on the Nineties with Robin Murray, Charlie Leadbeater, Rosalind Brunt and Stuart Hall on Post-Fordism, Politics of Choice and Politics of Identity. Plus the Labour Party policy review, David Hockney interview and Guide to New Times.

**7. July 1988 Owen and Ashdown Cover**
David Marquand on Centre Radicals/NHS anniversary/ Simon Bates interview.
**6. June 1988 Grandmaster Gorbachev Cover**
Martin Walker and Fred Halliday on Gorbachev/Clause 28 Roundtable/Tony Blackburn interview.
**5. May 1988 1968 Cover**
Stuart Hall and Martin Jacques on 1968/Summer Fashion/Jesse Jackson.
**4. April 1988 Men Cover**
Cynthia Cockburn on Masculinity/TV Culture/Toni Morrison interview.
**3. March 1988 Tory Opposition Cover**
Heseltine interview/Stuart Hall on Thatcherism/Hite Report.
**2. Feb 1988 NHS Cover**
NHS Futures/Neal Ascherson on Eastern Europe/Valentines Day.
**1. Jan 1988 Abortion Cover**
Alton Bill Roundtable/Review of 1987/Emma Thompson interview.

SOLD OUT SOLD OUT

The issues listed here are available as back issues. Previous issues and volumes are available on request. If you have a particular interest in topics, debates or writers let us know and we will do what we can to help. Do please remember though, stocks are limited, so order soon.

**ORDER FORM**
Each back issue costs £1.50 plus 50 p&p.
Please send me the following back issues (specify volume and issue).

**Name** _____

**Address** _____

**Postcode** _____

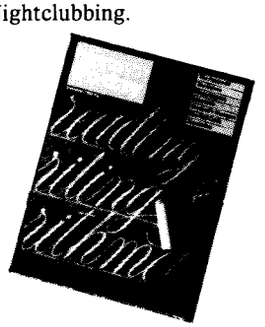
**Tel-No.** _____

**SEND TO: MARXISM TODAY BACK ISSUES,**
**16 St JOHN STREET,**
**LONDON EC1M 4AY.**

**Note: Cheques/POs payable to Marxism Today.**

## VOLUME THIRTY-ONE

**12. Dec 1987 Crash Cover**
Charlie Leadbeater and Bob Rowthorn on The Crash of 1987/Fay Weldon short story.
**11. Nov 1987 Gorbachev Cover**
Fred Halliday and Monty Johnstone on Gorbachev/ Shirley Williams interview/ Brookside.
**10. Oct 1987 Socialism Dead Cover**
Eric Hobsbawm on Socialism's Future/Derek Jarman interview/ Nightclubbing.



**9. Sept 1987 Education Cover**
Baker Bill/Maya Angelou interview/Eurocommunist Roundtable.
**8. Aug 1987 Child Abuse Cover**
Child Abuse in Cleveland/ Robin Cook on Labour's Defeat/Edinburgh Festival Special.
**7. July 1987 Britain Torn Apart Cover**
Andrew Gamble, Stuart Hall and Doreen Massey on Thatcher's Third Term/Mick McGahey interview.
**6. June 1987 Labour's Moment Cover**
Bryan Gould interview/Stuart Hall on Gramsci/Led Zeppelin.
**5. May 1987 Tactical Voting Cover**
Eric Hobsbawm on Tactical Voting/Nuclear Power/Cilla Black.
**4. April 1987 Alliance Cover**
Sarah Benton on The Alliance/Gramsci Supplement/Andy Warhol.
**3. March 1987 Currie Cover**
Edwina Currie interview/ Postmodernism/Wapping Dispute.
**2. Feb 1987 Gorbachev Mystique Cover**
Fedor Burlatsky interview/ Beatrix Campbell on Loony Leftism/New Wave Comedy.
**1. Jan 1987 Aids Cover**
Anthony Barnett/Charlie Leadbeater on Privatisation/ Hanif Kureishi.

SOLD OUT SOLD OUT

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

unresolved assumptions.

**Bhikhu** I think modernity is caught up in the crisis of its own success. The post-Enlightenment worldview, which through imperialism was foisted upon large parts of the world, has become *the* dominant paradigm: based on a specific view of the individual, of material interests, of rights, obligations and so on. What modernity has done is to marginalise, destroy, obliterate, or simply laugh out of existence, a large variety of worldviews, creating a flat, barren world. And I mean here not only the *lived* world, but also the world of ideas and sensibilities. Is there a release from this highly claustrophobic post-Enlightenment worldview? I would argue that the wide variety of cultures which continue to exist, and still mercifully have some vitality left in them, ought to be encouraged and be brought into a creative and equal dialogue with modernity.

You also talked just now about conflict of cultures. I would prefer to talk not so much about cultures, as about ethnic groups, because a culture derives its strength from the group of people who live it, revitalise it, face its problems and sustain it as an integral part of their way of life. In Britain there is a constant tendency to de-ethnicise people. In the United States people look upon themselves as Italian-American, Irish-American and so on, such that the integrity of an ethnic group is accepted, and it negotiates its differences with other groups within an over-arching polity. In Britain the culture of the middle-class Englishman is accepted as *the* dominant culture. This society has an immensely powerful assimilationist thrust, which I have not seen in any other society, except in France. Britain has *never* been able to rule successfully over a multiracial society, not even during its imperial days. Not surprisingly Britain is not able to handle multiracial society now.

There is a tendency to think of immigrants not as groups, as rich ways of life, but only as collections of individuals. They are constantly attacked for forming ghettoes and lacking the courage and the maturity to live as individuals. The language of individualism conceals a most insidious form of racism. An immigrant culture survives as long as it is embedded in the lifestyle of a group. Once you begin to break it up into individuals, you de-ethnicise them, break up a powerful unit, deprive people of their roots. At another level, where an Englishman talks about individualism, he's being dishonest. He can talk about being an individual, because he is already grounded in his own ethnic way of life. So it really amounts to individualism for the immigrants, some form of ethnic collectivism for the British society.

**Homi** You reminded me just then of what Mill, in his essay *On Liberty* says: 'I as a liberal, democratic, individually autonomous Englishman, am in a very invidious position, because I am a democrat at home and a despot abroad.' Now, not all were as conscious as Mill was of that ambivalence of colonial rule, the incompatibility of being a despot and a democrat. Of course Mill justified it, by saying that there are certain cultures – and this is *exactly* what is being said today – who need to be educated into modernity and civility. Such an ambivalence within the rationality of the Enlightenment should be our starting point in reconstructing the basis of Western liberal thought and its notion of civilisation.

**Bhikhu** Liberalism has always remained assimilationist: others must become like us, my present is your future. It has always remained profoundly fundamentalist: liberals have never questioned their conception of the individual. And it has remained profoundly individualistic. It never occured to John Stuart Mill that he only talked about *individual* diversity and difference, never about ethnic or group diversity or differences. Therefore, he was unable to ground individual choices and differences into a soil of ethnic differences and identity, where these choices have some sustaining political power. This is why at the end of the day, liberalism ended up creating an extremely uniform society.

**Homi** Absolutely, there is no way of thinking through how a group comes to be constituted. The group identity is something threatening. We are seeing this today in responses to this issue: the ethnic group is the worst of all evils, so let us draw out of it enlightened individuals, and let us turn others who are articulating their cultural differences into enlightened individuals.

I agree with you that it is by asserting the way in which ethnic groupings or communities express their cultural differences, that we can confront the 'subject' of liberalism. But I have a doubt over how far tradition can be seen as part of the living reality of the ethnic group? How far can these symbols and images of continuity – from food to celebrations of festivals, initiation rituals etc, – provide a sense of unity? Or whether traditions as they're being reconstituted now, are not themselves always subject to construction through fragmentation? And if that is so, don't you think we need to begin to think about the boundaries of ethnicity? They keep something in but they also open something out, and at the limits of the group, there is always a deep ambivalence, explored through Rosa Diamond in *The Satanic Verses*.

Rosa Diamond stands for a fragmented Britishness – her anchoring 'memories' are of the Battle of Hastings and William the Conqueror, that kind of thing – and then into her garden on the south coast from an exploded Boeing, falls this Indian actor, Gibreel. Even when dressed in her husband's borrowed clothes, he is very obviously unlike Sir Henry Diamond – he is a migrant imposter. By taking the place of her husband, he devalues the imperialist authority of Sir Henry, steeped in its paternalism and patriarchy. This seems to liberate Rosa into recalling a ragbag of personal memories, drawn from a wide range of cultures completely unlike her previously-anchored pure British past. And during this process the two people become bound together in a way unlike a previous colonial relationship of master and servant.

Rushdie is pointing up how ethnicities are social constructions. That process of self-identification in a post-colonial setting requires a historical narrative which is fractured, discontinuous.

**Bhikhu** I agree we should not see ethnicity as fixed and unchanging. Historically-speaking, every community has felt forced to accept change, to at least come to terms with other communities. The question is, when do communities become frozen? When do they say that they will not change any more? I think that happens when they feel beseiged, threatened, when no space is left for them to grow. And this is where multiculturalism becomes extremely important.

**Bhikhu: 'The wide variety of cultures which still mercifully have some vitality left, ought to be brought into a dialogue with modernity'**

Multiculturalism doesn't simply mean numerical plurality of different cultures, but rather a community which is creating, guaranteeing, encouraging spaces within which different communities are able to grow at their own pace. At the same time it means creating a public space in which these communities are able to interact, enrich the existing culture and create a new consensual culture in which they recognise reflections of their own identity.

And education is critically important here. In this country increasingly, education is becoming a terrain where the Muslims have mounted a most vigorous campaign for their survival and growth. Although their cultural identity is not being openly assaulted – in fact they are being pampered at one level, government ministers will go to their mosque and tell them how wonderful they are – they know that this is merely the periphery of their existence. When it comes to the substance of political life in this country, quietly in our schools, through the instrumentality of teachers, through the curriculum, the school ethos and so on, Muslims are being increasingly de-Islamified and gradually sucked into the dominant culture. And that is the terrain where the struggle is going to take place in the next few years.

I think that multiculturalism is possible, but only if communities feel confident enough to engage in a dialogue and when there is enough public space for them to interact with the dominant culture. So I am taking not a wholly open-ended view of ethnicity, but one which is firm enough to hold itself together, and yet open enough to absorb external influences and make its own impact.

**Homi** Right, but it's precisely that boundary which is both firm and open that really becomes the crunch point. There are times at that point of what I call cultural *difference* (as opposed to cultural diversity) where the two kinds



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Autobiography and fiction

Two provactive new titles from
a new voice in alternative publishing.

BRAZEN BOOKS



## NEW TIMES FOR WOMEN

*A weekend conference for women on the . . . .*

## BRITISH ROAD FOR SOCIALISM

**June 10th - 11th 1989**
The Pankhurst Centre,
60-62 Nelson Street,
Manchester 13.
**10.30 - 3.30 Saturday - Sunday**

For further details please contact
Sarah Gasquoine 01 251 4406,
Mary Joannou 0727 53491
Jane Barrett 061 861 0985



Tel 01-226 9782
**Sisterwrite**
*A Women's Bookshop and Craftshop*
*190 Upper Street, London N1*

FOR THE BEST IN WOMEN'S BOOKS & CRAFTS

June Events

All events Women Only £1 / 50p concs
refreshments available

3rd 7pm:
Thelma Agnew Sara Maitland
Sue O Sullivan
Sheila Rowbotham Amanda Sebestyen
discuss: feminism '60s - '80s
& read from '68 '78 '88 & Very Heaven

10th 7 30pm:
an evening of Black Women's prose & poetry
with
Iiola Ashundie Debjani Chatterjee Zhana
reading from: *sojourn*

17th 7pm:
Fiona Cooper
reading from: HEARTBREAK ON THE HIGH SIERRA

22nd 7 30pm:
readings from : Serious Pleasure

**Open Mon–Sat 10–6pm, Thurs 10–7pm**
**Level wheelchair access.**
**Tube: Highbury**



## *A timely challenge*

Open our pages to the ideas, the people and the arguments looking beyond Thatcherism.

**More than a week in politics**

To: **7 Days**, FREEPOST, 16 St John Street, London EC1 1BL.
Please send a free copy of **7 Days** with subscription details to:
Name _____
Address _____
_____
Postcode _____

**Communist Party Weekly 40p**

7DAYS



# The World That Was Ours

## The Story of the Rivonia Trial

## *by Hilda Bernstein*

**On 12 June 1989 Nelson Mandela will have served twenty-five years of a life sentence imposed on him at the Rivonia Trial. Hilda Bernstein's husband was one of the accused. This is her remarkable story of the trial.**

**'Hilda Bernstein tells it as it was during the Rivonia Trial and beyond, with understated power and with rare descriptive gifts that take you along with her and her courageous family right through to their escape into Botswana. I was sorry to reach the end ... A memorable book, beautifully written — one of the best books I've read on South Africa.'**
*Donald Woods*

Published by SAWriters
Distributed by Central Books
£5.95




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of cultural practice grate against each other and a new practice is formed for which we have no settled rules of reference. That's a risk we have to take: cultural interaction might happen around a contentious hybrid issue which we cannot directly evaluate from past experience or even the political imperatives of the present. And it's that space which I feel is very important to acknowledge.

An instance comes to mind, which happened in May 1817 under a tree outside New Delhi. According to the earliest Christian converted catechist, the Christian mission was told that a number of people dressed in white were reading a bible under the tree. The Indian catechist goes off and asks them: 'What are you reading?' And they say, 'We are reading this book of God'. The catechist, hungry for conversions, asks: 'Well, don't you agree with it?' 'Yes', they reply, 'We agree with everything in it'. 'Then why don't you convert?' And they say, 'There is one major problem: your English sahibs eat meat, and we do not believe that the word of God can come from a meat-eater'.

Now, the demand for a vegetarian bible is in that colonial context precisely this kind of incommensurable, hybrid object which emerges in moments of political negotiation. And it is very important in strategies of cultural survival, resistance and translation. That's the kind of moment we have to be particularly aware of: we do not have the rules of interpretation, but we must find a way of dealing with it, and of politically assessing it.

**Bhikhu** My own feeling is that while the tolerance of the hegemonic culture is important for different cultures to grow, it is always tolerance conceded within the dominant framework. Space is often not given – it has to be taken. You have to create it, and when a group of people appears to be intolerant, to be demanding that the established norms be opened up a little, it is also a demand to create a space in which a dialogue is possible.

One also ought not to forget the importance of economic considerations. The assimilationist thrust is inherent in capitalism. It cannot tolerate diversity beyond a certain point, it insists on uniformity, it insists on only those differences that it can regulate. The kind of relaxed dialogue that we are talking about is only possible in an economic system which allows differences, and creates equal opportunities for different groups to grow. I should have thought that some kind of socialist economy is inescapable for this dialogue to take place.

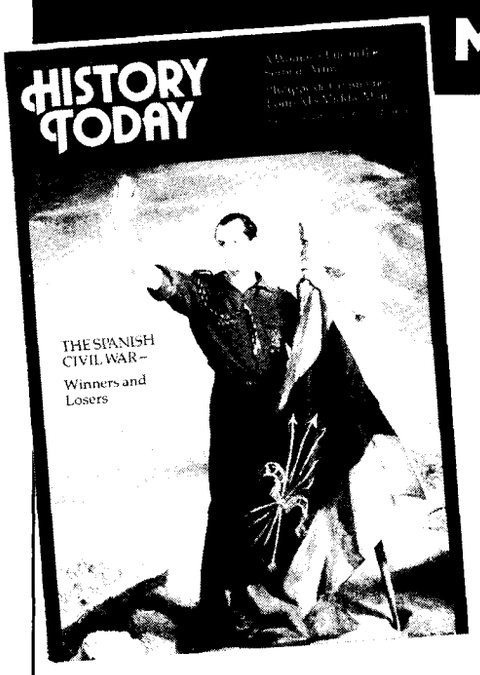
**Homi** Absolutely, but a socialist economy which keeps open the tension of unresolved differences. If we don't have a cultural political economy which recognises difference, I think all we will be doing is exchanging one set of liberal sacred cows for another set of socialist sheep.

**Bhikhu** This is where I think classical marxism came to grief. Just as capitalism accepted the post-Enlightenment view of the world, so did marxism, only it inverted it. And it somehow thought that if you handled the problem at the economic level, everything would be alright. If nationalisation and state regulation are not in themselves intrinsically important, but designed to create conditions in which a certain quality of life is possible, then one has to spell out the *content* of that quality of life. Without an adequate philosophical anthropology that fully appreciates the importance of cultural diversity and moral significance of forms of life, marxism remains unable to accommodate some of the deepest human aspirations.

**Homi** Just to add one final short point to that: one of the ways in which both the liberal establishment and indeed the marxist establishment would be able to open themselves up would be by returning in a much more experimental and innovative way to the moment which is a blind spot for both their histories; that is, the cultural context of colonialism. To see that as being as much of an apparatus of modernity as the notion of civility, progress or law. To see the colonial moment as indeed the history of the West, and to listen through that to those indigenous or native peoples who had to make sense of a foreign system and survive within it and resist it. ●

**Homi: 'How far can symbols and images of continuity – from food to festivals or initiation rituals – provide a sense of unity?'**




# MAKE SENSE OUT OF THE PAST

**WHY was a British woman fighting in the Serbian Army in World War I? ...WHEN was a sermon preached about the relic of the holy foreskin to Alexander VI? ...WAS Robert the Bruce a Quisling or Patriot? ...WHAT have a 3rd Century A.D. Syrian queen and Christmas Day got in common? ...WHO did 17th century schoolboys arm themselves with swords and pistols against?**

***All these questions have been answered in recent issues of HISTORY TODAY ...a unique monthly magazine.***

Each issue is packed with vivid fascinating detail
Each article is beautifully illustrated with many pictures and illustrations in full colour
Written by leading historians and commentators
Ancient, medieval and modern history from around the world
The past's guide to current affairs

**Free Book Offer:** Subscribe now and receive a free annual index plus we'll also send you FREE a copy of *Life in the Third Reich* which offers a rare glimpse of life in Hitler's Germany (published by O.U.P. at £5.95). History Today is also available at good newsagents each month for £1.80.

**FUTURE FEATURES INCLUDE**
- The First Palestinian Uprising 1936-39
- High Technology and Medieval Agriculture
- The Making of the American Dream 1880–1980
- Gerard Winstanley—17th Century Green Prophet

Yes, I would like to become a new HISTORY TODAY subscriber and I enclose my cheque for £19.25 (12 issues)*
I understand that I will receive a FREE copy of *Life in the Third Reich***

Name.....

Address.....

..... Post code.....

Please return this coupon to: History Today Subscriptions, (MT2), FREEPOST 39, London, W1E 6JZ.

*Full-time students (degree level and above) and OU students special rate £11.00 if proof of status sent but book offer not applicable.

**Free book offer for UK subscribers only and subject to availability.

Non-UK subscription rates available on request.

HISTORY TODAY




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# A Whole Lot Of Health

Alternative therapies have been embraced as a radical critique of traditional medical practices. But **Rosalind Coward** suggests that the underlying philosophy of the alternative movement may not be as progressive as we think

The phenomenal rise in popularity of alternative medicines, with all that that implies about changed attitudes towards health and the body, has been one of the most startling social changes of recent times. Who could have foretold, even 15 years ago, that therapies like reflexology, aromatherapy or the Alexander technique would no longer be viewed as the pastimes of cranks? That they would now be recognised by large numbers of people as viable alternatives to orthodox medicine?

This dramatic change in attitude towards medicine and health amounts to nothing less than a quiet revolution. It is estimated, for example, that last year 4m visits were made to alternative practitioners and that figure was only for the more 'respectable' therapies like homeopathy and osteopathy. At a moment when, in Britain at least, politicians struggle over the extent to which the health services should be privatised, many people are already paying up willingly for practitioners to deal with our health differently. Many of my own friends regularly use alternative therapies. I went to a kinesiologist for regular back pains, armed with a belief that conventional medicine could not help much with muscles and bones. I also went to a homeopath with more nebulous symptoms, like exhaustion. If we add chronic or terminal illnesses like asthma and cancer, these are the usual reasons for visiting alternative practitioners.

Many doctors will tell you about the large number of patients who return to conventional treatment when nothing changes. Others will point out how even the most ardent supporters of alternative medicine automatically turn to conventional medicine with something like a traumatic injury or a rampant infection. But even if the acceptance of alternative medicine is not quite as wholesale as it first appears, the point is that it has become massively popular. The mass media now relentlessly suggest we seek out alternatives to conventional medicine. It's hard to avoid the message that orthodox medicine might actually be dangerous and make us unhealthy whereas alternative medicine might give us positive, natural health and therefore an immunity to illness.

**Alternative therapies are frequently** associated with a popular radical critique of contemporary society, in particular of professional orthodoxies and Western 'scientific' values. I would like to question the assumption that the alternative movement can be claimed so easily for a progressive popular politics. While it is clear that alternative approaches to health may well articulate a widespread discontent with contemporary society and can make a valuable contribution to re-aligning conventional ideas about health and the body, some elements of their underlying philosophy can also be appropriated by, and reinforce, more conservative views of the world.

My interest in alternative therapies is not whether or not they work. I am interested instead in why these practices have become so popular, in why they have not been incorporated more fully into the range of traditional practices and what this tells us about changing values around health, the body, nature and the individual. How are we to explain their popularity? The most obvious explanation and the one most often given by alternative therapists themselves, is quite simply disillusionment with orthodox medicine. Few people now share the optimism, trust and respect which dominated attitudes towards the medical profession in the 50s and 60s (and gave us soap operas like *Dr Kildare* and *Emergency Ward 10*). Now people have become suspicious about the over-use of certain medicines (like antibiotics and tranquillisers), about the treatment of symptoms in separation from each other, about uncaring professional attitudes and the terrible lack of support given to patients and relatives with chronic or incurable illness. Books like *How To Raise A Healthy Child In Spite Of Your Doctor* seem to express the mood of the moment.

**There is a clear case against orthodox** medicine. Many illnesses such as certain types of cancer and heart disease are increasing. The medical profession is swayed by pharmaceutical interests, and research priorities are often influenced by the relative power of different groups. There is, for example, far more research on heart disease which predominantly affects men than on arthritis which affects more women. But if this opposition to the interests of conventional medicine were the only reason for the attractions of alternative medicine, these criticisms could have been directed at the structures and practices of conventional medicine. Instead, it has fuelled an interest in an alternative movement with new views about nature, health, the body and the role of the individual in maintaining his or her health.

The popularity of alternative medicine has just as much to do with the fact that it is a movement which gives voice to an emergent philosophy. It is a place where people can find one of the clearest expressions of new views of nature, health and illness. We only have to look at current ways of talking about illness to see how far these new more 'spiritual' views of health have permeated society. Nobody baulks to hear someone describe catching a common cold in terms of 'a weakened immune system', illness is increasingly understood in terms of 'unbalanced energy channels'. People widely associate becoming well with becoming more 'whole'.

Few people treat visits to alternative practitioners simply as getting a better service than orthodox medicine. They are frequently attracted to a whole mythology of a 'natural' route to total wellbeing. Nature is always presented as kind, gentle, renewing and healing, ignoring the fact that some natural things, like rhubarb leaves and uncooked kidney beans,



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

can kill and that it is equally natural to grow old and die. For the convert, nature signifies a lost wholeness and health. And central in all this is a belief that anyone who truly wants to can become well.

Alternative therapies have the clearest and most concise version of beliefs about nature and health which are now widespread throughout society and most of us accept them to some degree. We even take them as progressive and true. But there is a potential downside to these new philosophies. It may be that their radicalism is compromised by elements in the philosophy, which can easily be articulated to more conservative ends.

**Part of the impetus behind a movement** which makes health the route to social and spiritual renewal comes from the centrality which the body and health have now acquired in the general consciousness. Attending to wellbeing has become a cultural obsession; we are frequently told that we should work for wellbeing, with the consequence that most of us have a nebulous sense that we are not really healthy, even if we are not ill, simply because we aren't doing enough.

To some extent this new and detailed concern with the body's health comes from Western privileges. We have such high standards of living and hygiene that we can imagine a society without disease. Or, as an advert for the Institute of Optimum Nutrition put it, 'Feeling ok may seem enough ... But the truth is you could feel far better.' There is a sense that something is wrong with modern society to which an antidote must be sought.

The quest for natural health often becomes the focus of a new morality where the individual is required to exercise *personal* control over disease. Individuals are sometimes told that they are ill because they couldn't cope with the stress and their immunity gave out, or that at some subconscious level they *wanted* to be ill. In extreme cases some alternative therapists have even been heard lecturing on how they wish they could have cancer so they could have a chance to prove how attitude and lifestyle can overcome any disease.

There's nothing new about the body being the focus of a personal morality in Western societies. But previously it was through sexuality that individuals were required to make decisions about how to use their bodies and exercise the greatest degree of self-determination. In the 70s and 80s, health has stepped into the fading arena of sexuality; it is health which has picked up the discourse of traditional religious morality. But why should individuals, recently freed from a sense of damnation which surrounded them in religion or sexuality immediately succumb to another philosophy where the body is seen to express personal will? The answer is very probably that a protestant culture has extreme difficulty in letting go of its most fundamental belief, that the individual is in control of what happens to him, or her, through the exercise of willpower. The revival of political Conservatism in Britain gave new life to these views which are the dominant personal ethics of our society.

In the early-1970s, intellectually at least, there was a serious challenge to the dominant ethic of the free individual responsible for his or her own fate. The popularity of marxism and freudianism have both to be seen in the context of a general sympathy with the idea that the *structures* surrounding an individual were as important as any conscious intention. The expansion of state provision bore witness to a certain amount of agreement that it was not simply up to individuals to secure their own fate. The political backlash against these shifts was built on people's anxieties at leaving behind old ways of thinking about the individual and the accompanying feeling of losing control over their fate.

Medicine itself was a sort of minicosmos of what happened more generally. In the postwar period, many people realised that some of the major events of life – birth, illness and death – had been horrendously mismanaged in a society where profit and status sometimes predominate. The attitudes of male professionalism have seemed at odds with a supposedly caring profession. At the same time, orthodox medicine, with its emphasis on the external virus, carried a message that disease and illness were arbitrary, having no meaning in terms of the individual's life.

Perhaps for the first time in Western history, illness had been separated from morality. It was no longer explained as the wrath of God or the fault of an individual, but simply bad luck. Undoubtedly this was a hard pill for individuals steeped in the protestant ethic to swallow. The interesting thing is that the alternative therapies movement merged the two phenomena. The inhumanity of the medical profession was explained as arising from allopathic medicine's view of disease. Yet they are not necessarily connected. The inhumanity can be just as easily explained as the result of professional, institutional heirarchies, the unequal division of labour between men and women, and the pursuit of profit by pharmaceutical companies.

In the context of the ascendancy of the new Conservatism, these dissatisfactions were frequently forged with a wider emphasis on personal responsibilty. This emphasis allowed a shift towards the implication that illness and disease were also areas of personal control and responsibility. Some elements of the alternative health movement have the potential to empower individuals and offer a sense of control in the face of a monolithic and often impersonal NHS. But they have no inherent political commitment. They can be appropriated on behalf of the Right's critique of statism as well as for a more progressive view of a society of independent and responsible citizens, well-educated in how to preserve their own health and supported by a modern, flexible system of public health care. What happened with alternative medicine was typical of what happened in many areas of society. People blamed everything that was wrong on 'materialism' and there was a full-scale attack on the way personal responsibility for health had been downplayed.

**'The quest for natural health often becomes the focus for a new morality where the individual is required to exercise personal control over disease'**

While the Conservative junior health minister adopted the language of the alternative movement, however, the Left clung to a traditional defence of the NHS. The popular disatisfaction with the status quo and fascination with an emergent attitude to health and the body could have been articulated in a defence of public health care provision. Alternative approaches to health might have been embraced more widely as complementary practices within a reconstructed Health Service. Instead of people being forced to pay for alternative therapies, embracing the priorities of the Right, they could have been offered a vision of a Health Service based upon education, preventative medicine and the availability of alternative treatment.

Instead, the political context of the last decade reinforced the more conservative elements of the new philosophy. This is perhaps the reason why, despite initiatives such as the Marylebone Centre and the cancer unit at the Hammersmith Hospital which offer complementary and orthodox treatment, it is far more common to find adherents of alternative medicine setting up complete alternatives to orthodox medicine. This has much to do with the vested interests of orthodox medicine but it also marks a failure to embrace the progressive potential within the alternative philosophy of health and the body on behalf of a progressive politics.

Because the opposition to traditional practices has been posed so much in terms of a philosophy, it has been easy for orthodox medicine to disregard implicit criticisms of the structure of work and the issue of patients' rights. This failure to make a significant political impact on conventional medicine is perhaps symptomatic of the successful articulation of elements of the alternative health movement to the values of contemporary Conservatism.

The alternative movement may well have a language of 'empowering' individuals to take control and look after health. It might articulate a deep discontent with contemporary society. But it ultimately locates both the criticism and the desire in a fantasy for an imagined wholeness which is encapsulated in the problematic idea of 'natural' health and is frequently linked with a philosophy of possessive individualism. Not having been successfully articulated to a more progressive vision of personal empowerment within a caring society, in the end, it tends to divert dissatisfaction with the status quo into the route of personal transformation. ●

**Rosalind Coward's *The Whole Truth. The Myth Of Alternative Health* (Faber & Faber, £12.99) is published in June.**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Chorus For A New Dawn

**The annual congregation of hippie travellers at Stonehenge might appear to be just another case of British mid-summer madness. But Neil Spencer explains that it's part of a world-wide movement which is celebrating the dawning of a new age**

This month sees the re-enactment of one of the social rituals of 80s' Britain. Several hundred pilgrims, intent on celebrating the summer solstice at the ancient site of Stonehenge, will confront the massed ranks of the Avon county constabulary who will be equally intent that they shall not. The pleasant lanes of Wiltshire and Somerset will be patrolled with the same assiduousness as the roads around the pit heads during the miners' strike of 1984. Indeed, the notorious police riot, when officers in battle gear batonned a convoy of hippie travellers and wrecked their vehicles, remains with Orgreave a cameo of a state at war with its own citizens.

Stonehenge itself, as good a symbol as any of our much-trumpeted national heritage, remains encircled by barbed wire. It has been shabbily served by the Department of the Environment, whose handling of market forces does not yet extend to a financial arrangement with either hippies or the ancient order of druids for the use of the site for their rites.

Why normally peaceful people should risk a battering for the sake of a few old stones is just one mystery of a movement that specialises in the strange, the outlandish, and the downright unfathomable. The new-age concept means many things to many people. Its central tenet is simple: at some point during the latter half of the 20th century, the world will have passed from one era of civilisation to the next. The new age will overturn the injustices and imbalances of previous times, restoring the planet to an equilibrium between sexes and races and between humanity and nature that it has not experienced for thousands of years.

The precise time of this grand transition – ordained by destiny, foretold in the texts of mystics and soothsayers and calibrated by the movements of the stars and planets – is in dispute. Some say it has already happened, the 30s and the 60s being favoured dates for the advent of the 'Age of Aquarius'. Others of a millenarian disposition contend the turn of the century to be its true starting point. Still others singled out the 'harmonic convergence' of 1987's planetary alignments, and tens of thousands of new agers duly gathered on the planet's power points to chant, meditate and usher in the new dawn.

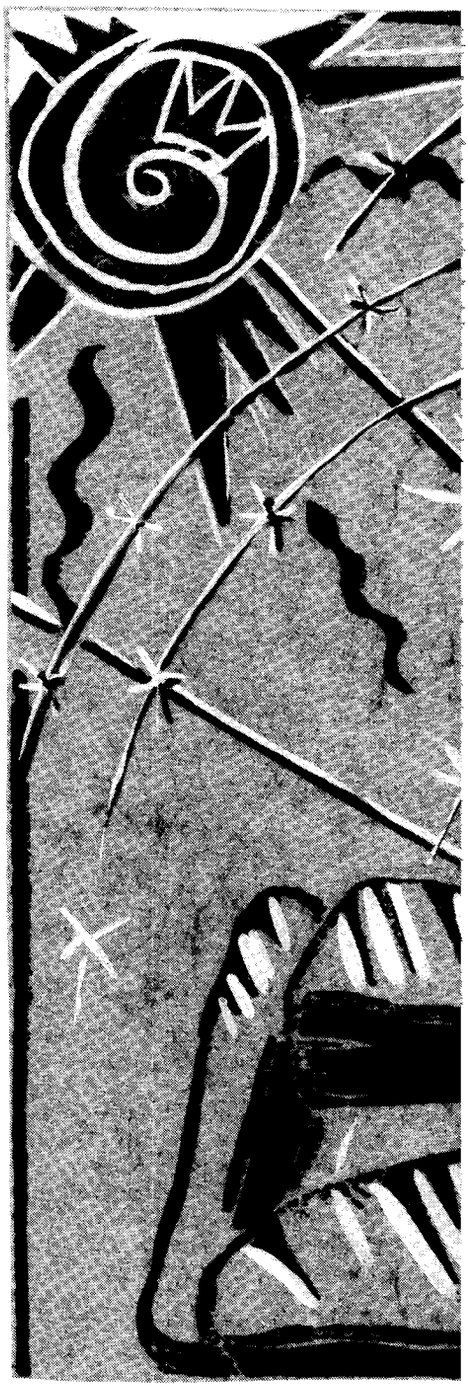
Sites like Stonehenge are very important to new agers. At crucial points on the earth's surface benificent currents congregate and well up; the same principle aborigines outlined to Bruce Chatwin in *The Songlines*. Other aspects of new age include a disposition towards Eastern religions (particluarly Buddhism), a high regard for all things ethnic (music, art, fabrics, pottery, etc,), which are seen to be more pure and natural than Western counterparts, and an embrace of the post-mechanistic 'new' physics and biology of scientists like Stephen Hawking and Rupert Sheldrake, together with their Einstein-style departures into metaphysics.

Put simply, new agers are old hippies. Now well into middle age, they have exchanged their pot pipes for acupuncture sessions, Grateful Dead records for warbling synthesiser suites with titles like 'Pine Forest At Dawn' and, for the more affluent, dented 2CVs for lead-free BMWs. Their idealism, however, has remained largely intact, having turned aside from politics as hopelessly corrupting and irrelevant, or found expression in the more cosmically inclined regions of the green movement.

But like the green and the peace movements, new age cuts across generations and social class. Its ranks include young urban anarchists, rural drop-outs, sections of the professional middle classes, wayward intelligentsia, land-owning shire types and, of course, the heir to the English throne. All are linked to varying degrees by a philosophy that rejects conventional scientific descriptions of the world, decries materialism (or at least its crasser aspects), and posits a profoundly different history of, and future for, humanity.

Among those chanting at the 1987 harmonic convergence was US actress Shirley McLaine. Testifying to the power of meditation, rebirthing, alternative therapy, mineral crystals, beta waves and other aspects of new-age civilisation, she has emerged as a convenient celebrity focus for new-age ideals. The movement has, inevitably, found its most extreme manifestation in North America. Quiet, rural settlements like Aspen, Colerado have blossomed into new-age communities, populated by healers, astrologers, musicians, artists and spirit guides. They are also doing good business as new-age tourist resorts. Their equivalents can be found in any Western country and many countries of the Third World. New age is nothing if not global.

In the United States, the new age is now a multi-million dollar industry, with plenty of highly affluent followers. There are even a number of new-age radio stations. It is also becoming smart. Stress-soaked yuppie salary-slaves are finding a session at the 'mind gym', beta-waved out in a flotation tank or behind a pair of 'synchro-energising goggles', a useful antidote to modern urban living.



In Britain it is more low-profile, but still extensive. Gothic Image bookshop in Glastonbury, the capital of new-age Albion, now publishes a sizeable catalogue which underlines the market for new-age publications, offering titles on top-



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Andrew Fowler

ics like earth mysteries, UFOs, Arthurian legend and ancient civilisations.

New age has made its most substantial inroads into mainstream political attitudes in ecology and medicine. Green issues are now at the undodgeable centre of the agenda for all political parties, a vindication of hippie warnings for over 20 years of the dangerous estrangement between humanity and nature. But outside of Greendom, new age and politics don't yet mix much. Socialism tends to be seen by new agers as godless, mechanistic and dehumanising.

The howls of outrage and indignation from the Left and the embarrassed silence of the Right that greeted the revelation that Ron and, more particularly, Nancy Reagan had based a considerable part of their political strategy on astrological considerations, underlined the gulf that exists between the new-age movement and the anti-mumbo-jumbo approach of conventional politics.

But it's worth remembering that the Glastonbury music festival, a few miles down the ley-lines from Stonehenge, gives its profits to CND, while *Encyclopedia Psychedelica*, a kind of grown-up Oz magazine, claims the Greenham women as 'a synthesis between occultism and political action.' Recently, it even carried an historical account by Tony Benn on the diggers, alongside an astro-profile of Margaret Thatcher (Libra, by the way, with Scorpio rising) and a description of her 'powerful, Plutonic, cardinal energy'. There was also the cut-out Maggie doll with acupuncture points in which to stick needles to 'help Maggie find the goddess within herself'.

There seems to be little chance of political representation for the new agers in Britain, though under proportional representation, the UK would doubtless have a green Euro MP or two to argue their case. In the States, on the other hand, the divorce between the new age and politics surely won't hold true for long. Although a militarist, Reagan also made clear his belief in biblical Armageddon. In his own way he was something of a new-age politician. It was perhaps no accident that his power base was in California. New agers might even argue that the extraordinary popularity of the Reagan regime and its ability to dodge trouble is a powerful testimony to the efficacy of star-based polity and not just the curious appeal of a demented old Hollywood actor.

Whatever the foundation of Reagan's success, a new-age politician, say a 90s' version of groovy, 70s' governor of California, Jerry Brown, can't be far away, preaching government in accord with cosmic principles. A Labour MP willing to argue the case of the Stonehenge convoy people is a little harder to imagine. ●

## New Age Profile

### Leading Lights
*Carl F Jung*
*Shirley McLaine*
*Guru Maharaj Ji*
*Prince Charles*
*Hermann Hesse*
*Allen Ginsberg*
*John Denver*
*Yoko Ono*

### Leisure
*T'ai Chi*
*Yoga*
*Out-of-body travel*
*Chanting*
*Meditation*
*Mood-altering music*
*Dungeons And Dragons*

### Haunts
*Glastonbury*
*Stonehenge*
*California*
*Greek Islands*
*Camden Lock*
*Findhorn*
*Santa Fe*
*Tibet*
*Brighton*

### Clothes
*Tie-dyed t-shirts*
*Embroidered waistcoats*
*Kaftans*
*Head bands*
*Psychedelic colours*
*Leather sandals*
*Cheese-cloth shirts*

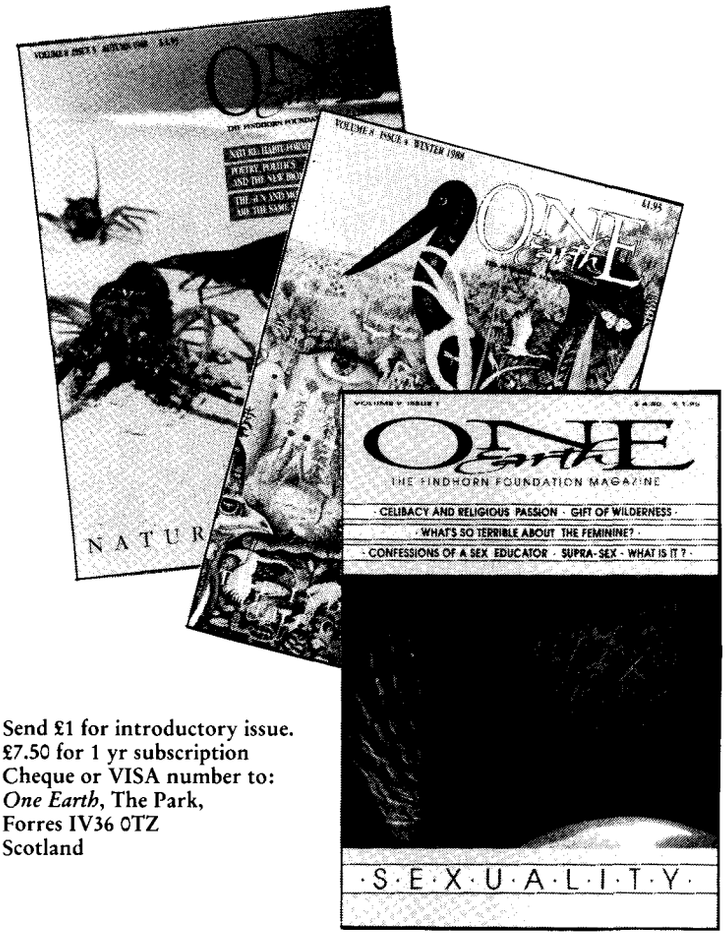
### Accessories
*Quartz crystals*
*Pendulums*
*Astrological charts*
*Rough Guide To Mexico*
*Tarot Cards*
*Crystal balls*
*Celtic harps*
*Runes*

### Buzz words
*Energisation*
*Nowness*
*Balance*
*The universal mind*
*Spiritual re-awakening*
*Wholeness*
*Synchronicity*

### Food And Drink
*Tofu burgers*
*Three-grain bread*
*Ginseng tea*
*Organic vegetables*
*Sunflower seeds*
*Aqua Libra*
*Soya milk*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


ONE Earth
THE FINDHORN FOUNDATION MAGAZINE
CELIBACY AND RELIGIOUS PASSION · GIFT OF WILDERNESS ·
· WHAT'S SO TERRIBLE ABOUT THE FEMININE? ·
· CONFESSIONS OF A SEX EDUCATOR · SUPRA-SEX · WHAT IS IT ? ·
·S·E·X·U·A·L·I·T·Y·

Send £1 for introductory issue.
£7.50 for 1 yr subscription
Cheque or VISA number to:
*One Earth*, The Park,
Forres IV36 0TZ
Scotland

ONE Earth

The Magazine of the Findhorn Foundation

**HELP MAKE IT HAPPEN NOW!**

*A quarterly magazine for people concerned with the Earth, the nature of their repsonsibility to others, the quality of their relationships, their personal growth and the spiritual work of our times.*

Spring issue
**SEXUALITY**
Summer issue
**PSYCHOTHERAPY**

*Articles about human consciousness, relationships, the environment, health, the arts, education, politics, community and spirituality.*

On the beautiful Greek island of Skyros

Sun, sea, and a sense of community.

**ATSITSA**

A holistic health holiday, with yoga,T'ai Chi, windsurfing,dance, art, massage, etc.

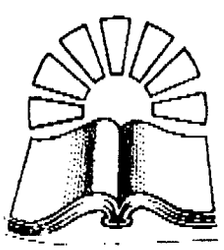
**THE SKYROS CENTRE**

A personal development holiday, with courses to reassess life and make positive changes.

**THE SKYROS INSTITUTE**

Professional training courses in holistic health and personal development

Details: 1 Fawley Road, (*MT*), London NW6 1SL
Telephone: 01-431 0867



**Centre for Alternative Technology**

The mail order service for all things green — from windmills to homoeopathy, from ionisers to compost makers — and for the books to complement them.

*Send five 2nd class stamps for the comprehensive annotated Booklist and two stamps for the Buy Green By Mail products Catalogue to: Quarry Bookshop (MT), Centre for Alternative Technology, Machynlleth, Powys SY20 9AZ*

*Mysteries*

London's psychic shop and New Age centre.

*Books, magazines, paraphernalia. Largest selection of New Age music and self-improvement cassettes.*

PSYCHIC READINGS

Send SAE(A4) for catalogue to,
Mysteries, 9/11 Monmouth Street, Covent Garden, London, WC2
Tel: 01 240 3688




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Bond Below The Belt

**James Bond returns this month with *Licence To Kill*. Sally Hibbin, a confirmed Bond girl, explains the fascination of the long-running series of films**

'The target of my books lies somewhere between the solar plexus and the upper thigh', said Ian Fleming of his James Bond novels, neatly summing up their attraction and intention as well as that of the films. Fleming's novels were immediately popular in England when they came out in the 50s but only made it internationally when John F Kennedy included them in a list of his favourite, presidential bedside reading. The films, beginning with *Dr No* in 1962, have become the most successful movie series of all time.

It is estimated that over half the world's population has seen a Bond film at one time or another, and this without the films ever having been distributed in Eastern Europe or China. James Bond is part of our culture, practically an institution. Watching the series over the years, you can follow the shifts and developments in popular consciousness and the way they reflect some of the complexities and ambivalences of contemporary politics.

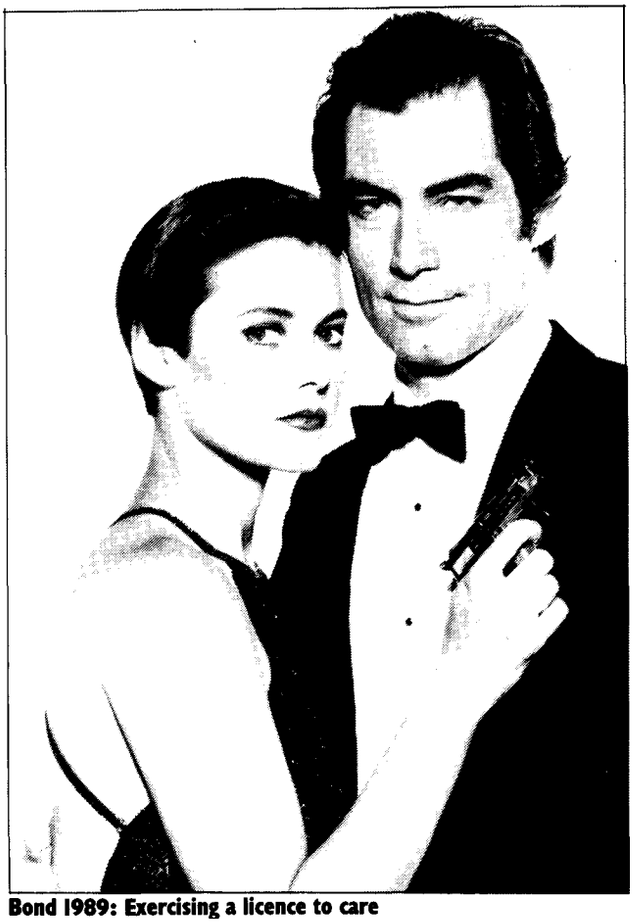
*Goldfinger*, the third film of the series established the essential formula: a fast-moving, action-packed story which rarely pauses for breath, an evil villain bent on world destruction or world domination with a seemingly invincible henchman, the hi-tech, somewhat unlikely gadgetry, the beautiful girls and exotic locations and, of course, the knowing humour which creates an immediate sympathetic bond between the film-makers and the audience.

'Cubby' Broccoli and Harry Saltzman, the series' original producers, once called the special mix of Bond ingredients 'total cinema', pure entertainment that anyone can enjoy.

Three years ago, I was commissioned to write a history of the Bond films and last year I became the first journalist ever to have free rein on a Bond film set while writing another book about the making of *Licence To Kill*. At first I suffered from all the familiar crises of confidence occasioned by working on something that is not unequivocably 'right on'. After all, these are films which the Left regards as sexist and racist and stemming directly from, and maybe even fuelling, the cold-war climate. But to write them off in that way is too easy because I, like I suspect many other readers of *Marxism Today*, thoroughly enjoy the Bond films. They are exciting to watch and eminently satisfying.

There are, of course, those who will quarrel with even that. The Bond films, they argue, are too predictable, too similar to each other to be interesting. If you've seen one you've seen them all. But these critics are missing the fun of the series. Sure, we all know that Bond will defeat the enemy, Western civilisation will once again be saved and, of course, he will get the girl. The point is that the satisfaction comes from seeing how they work it all out this time around. What great, new stunt will they pull? How will the villain differ from previous villains? Will the heroine be more modern, more independent? These are formula films and the audience know the territory when they step into the cinema. Liberties may be taken with the rules of the formula but the essence remains the same. Each film fulfills our expectations of it, sometimes a little more, sometimes a little less.

In the free-wheeling 60s, the Bonds were new and dynamic. Pacey and stylish, they combined a thriller element with a sense of humour. Nothing quite like it had been seen before. Sean Connery's casual charm and witty one-liners not only produced a charismatic hero, they also created an antidote to the more violent elements of the films. He could never kill without adding a caustic comment that would raise a laugh, keeping death within the realms of acceptability to a family audience. In a classic scene in the pre-title sequence of *Goldfinger*, Bond kills his opponent by punching him into a bath and then throwing an electric



**Bond 1989: Exercising a licence to care**

## Bond File

Bond first exercised his license to kill in Fleming's *Casino Royale* in 1953. In 16 films over 27 years he's saved us from various villains and there's no sign of him stopping now:

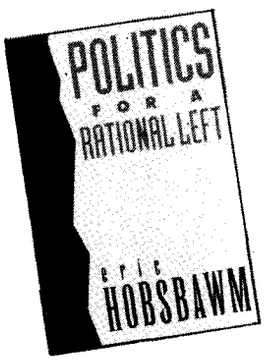
| | |
|---|---|
| Dr No | 1962 |
| From Russia With Love | 1963 |
| Goldfinger | 1964 |
| Thunderball | 1965 |
| You Only Live Twice | 1967 |
| On Her Majesty's Secret Service | 1969 |
| Diamonds Are Forever | 1971 |
| Live And Let Die | 1973 |
| The Man With The Golden Gun | 1974 |
| The Spy Who Loved Me | 1977 |
| Moonraker | 1979 |
| For Your Eyes Only | 1981 |
| Octopussy | 1983 |
| A View To A Kill | 1985 |
| The Living Daylights | 1987 |
| Licence To Kill | 1989 |



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marxism Today

# READERS OFFER




## POLITICS FOR A RATIONAL LEFT
## Political Writing 1977-1988
## By
## ERIC HOBSBAWM

Throughout the Thatcher years Eric Hobsbawm has remained a hard-headed and lucid political commentator whose dismissal of wishful thinking and party chauvinism has never deflected from an underlying commitment to the relevance of socialism for the 1990s.

In this one volume are collected "The Forward March of Labour Halted?", and "Labour's Lost Millions", two of Hobsbawm's most influential essays, together with the debates they engendered and his replies to, and interventions in, these hugely important discussions for the New Times of the 1990s. Essays on Labourism, The Falklands, The Popular Front, Nationalism, and the European Left set the debates within the context of a more discursive political analysis.

Exclusively to Marxism Today readers, we are offering **SIGNED** copies, post-free, delivered to your door. Send off now for this volume of vitality.

**YES** please send ..... signed copies of **POLITICS FOR A RATIONAL LEFT**, post-free at £8.95 each.

I enclose a cheque/postal order for £ ..... (made payable to Verso)

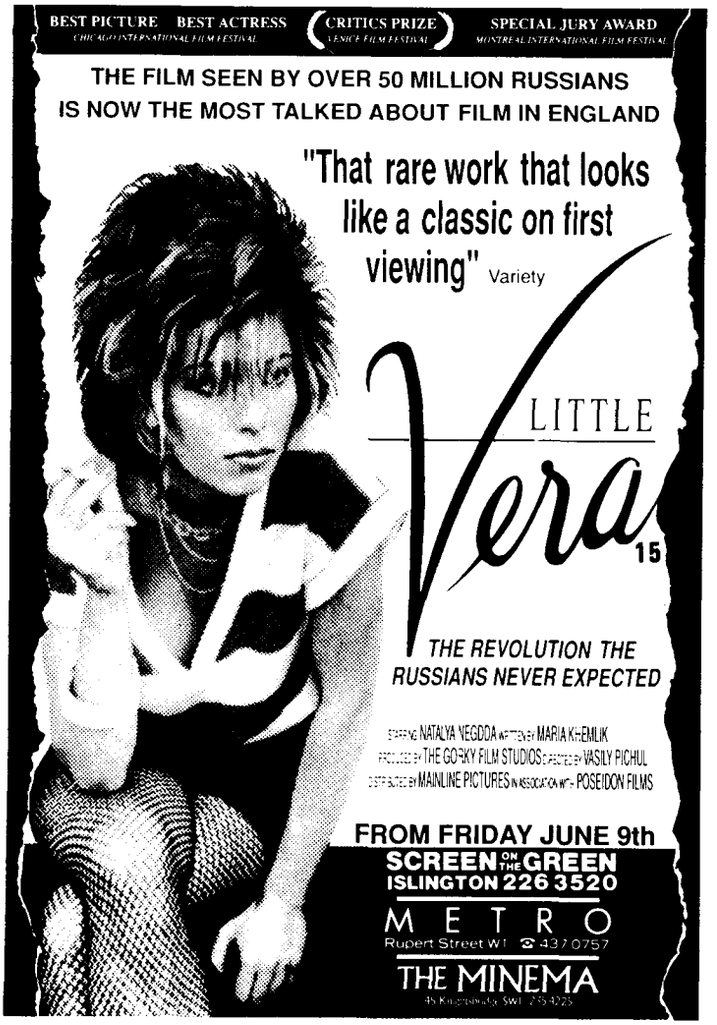
Name _____

Address _____

Postcode _____

VERSO

Return to: Verso (MTOffer)
6 Meard St,
London W1V 3HR



BEST PICTURE BEST ACTRESS
CHICAGO INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL
CRITICS PRIZE
VENICE FILM FESTIVAL
SPECIAL JURY AWARD
MONTREAL INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL
THE FILM SEEN BY OVER 50 MILLION RUSSIANS
IS NOW THE MOST TALKED ABOUT FILM IN ENGLAND
"That rare work that looks like a classic on first viewing" Variety
LITTLE
Vera
15
THE REVOLUTION THE RUSSIANS NEVER EXPECTED
STARRING NATALYA NEGODA WRITTEN BY MARIA KHEMLIK
PRODUCED BY THE GORKY FILM STUDIOS DIRECTED BY VASILY PICHUL
DISTRIBUTED BY MAINLINE PICTURES IN ASSOCIATION WITH POSEIDON FILMS
FROM FRIDAY JUNE 9th
SCREEN ON THE GREEN
ISLINGTON 226 3520
METRO
Rupert Street W1 437 0757
THE MINEMA

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fire in after him. As the would-be assassin frazzles, Bond mutters to himself, 'Shocking . . . simply shocking', thus distancing us from the death and giving us a licence to laugh.

Even in the early films there was a significant move away from the terrain of the Fleming novels. In the books, the enemy had always been SMERSH, the undercover wing of the KGB. The films substituted SPECTRE, a freelance organisation with world domination in sight. SPECTRE, the Special Executive for Counter Intelligence, Terrorism, Revenge and Extortion, clearly takes the films one step further into a world of fantasy where the good can be good and the bad unequivocably bad. This, now classic, transformation has been exploited to the full in films like *Star Wars* where the villains can be universally hated because their only essential quality is that they are evil.

In the more self-reflexive 70s, when many films consciously took other films as their reference points, Roger Moore's tongue-in-cheek, bordering on camp style kept the series in tune with the times. In *Moonraker*, the most outrageous of the Roger Moore Bonds with its climactic battle taking place in outer space, there are references to other films from the period. A coded bell push echoes the never-to-be-forgotten, fournote call sign from *Close Encounters Of The Third Kind*, and the theme music from *The Magnificent Seven* is heard when Bond rides across Brazil in a poncho.

*Moonraker* remains the biggest box-office hit of the series. While it was being made detente was also in vogue and the Bond scenario reflected this with the British, the Americans *and* the Soviets joining forces in various combinations to protect the always-fragile world peace. The new world of glasnost presents an interesting challenge to the way future Bonds play out their political conflicts.

In the tougher 80s, in a world where *Death Wish* and *Nightmare On Elm Street* draw the crowds, the films have changed tack again. Under director John Glen, a veteran action-sequence director of films like *The Wild Geese* and *The Sea Wolves*, and with Timothy Dalton taking over the lead, there is a conscious move to a grittier, harsher feel. Reality is the watchword of the filming and 'dangerous' the most often used adjective in the publicity. ('His bad side is a dangerous place to be' proclaim the posters.) For the first time in the series' history, the PG certificate rating of the film was in doubt.

But with Dalton there also comes a distaste for the inevitable killing that accompanies the spy's job. Bond may continue to do exactly what is necessary but he does not have to like it anymore. His Bond is not so callous. He reveals a caring side, even towards his women. The 'love them, use them and leave them' philosophy of previous Bonds was so watered down in *The Living Daylights* that the tabloids began speculating about whether Bond had moved into a post-Aids era. While *Licence To Kill*, the first film to be written especially for Dalton, has a tougher more active core, it also has more sensitive overtones. It is a very 80s ambivalence.

But while the subtleties have changed, the essence remains what it always was. Bond – both the films themselves and the filming of them, every aspect of which is covered avidly in the tabloids – is a fantasy world of glamour, action and intrigue. Its hero, full of charm and sophistication, has an ability to handle any situation, or any woman, in his own inimitable fashion. The films play on the fascinating interplay of sexuality, seduction and power, a fascination which is heightened further when Bond is teamed with more powerful women. This world might not always be critically stimulating, but it hits the exact target at which Fleming and the inheritors of the Bond institution so consciously take aim. ●

**Just Like That:** **Ian Saville is the only long-standing political activist who has been known to make both Mrs Thatcher *and* nuclear missiles disappear. This vanishing act is just one routine from the socialist magician's bag of tricks. As yet he has only enacted the miracle symbolically, but it is a therapeutic experience, a sight for sore eyes.**

**Saville follows in the footsteps of one Professor Hoffmann, a famous Victorian magician who demonstrated the principles of free trade using eggs and coloured scarves to represent industrial infrastructures, but he reclaims the mysteries of the magic circle in the name of ideology critique. Saville adopts a mischievous position combining explanations of Marx's theory of surplus value with performances of 'The Class Struggle Rope Trick'.**

**Such political impudence is a salutary reminder that a trade traditionally associated with illusory knifings and decapitations conducted on largely naked women by entirely clothed men, never was 'neutral'. Indeed, Paul Daniels (who Saville calls his 'dialectical alter-ego') has adapted the profession to the age of television and advanced capitalism by wandering among the rich and famous making large amounts of money disappear, only for it to be subsequently returned to them. Daniels invites us to gawp at cash and power, but when Saville makes money 'disappear', he parodies the mysterious movement of liquid capital across the VDU screens of the multinationals.**

**In his first full-length show, 'Brecht On Magic', a talking portrait of Karl Marx featured with a ventriloquist's dummy of Bertolt Brecht. The dummy led Saville from the darkness of bourgeois bewitchment into the sunshine of socialist revelation. In his latest show 'Getting Nowhere Again', the help of socialist visionary William Morris is enlisted. The title plays on Morris's utopian 'Nowhere' and Saville's sense of frustration that that is precisely where the Left is currently heading. After uttering the magic words 'from a society based on profit to a society based on human need', the bearded visionary appears as both a dummy and shadow puppet leading Saville through utopias past, present and future.**

**Saville doesn't trivialise the politics he engages, but uses his talents as a comic illusionist as a means of undressing the illusions that cloak political ideologies. His decisive weapon in breaking the magician's pedagogical aura is his meek status and only partial competence. But the deployment of Brechtian alienation effects provides the key to Saville's Houdini-like escapes from the contradictions of trying to mystify people with magic while demystifying them with politics.** ●

*Patrick Marmion*

The socialist magician will be appearing and disappearing throughout the country during June and July.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**GOODWILL HOLIDAYS**

Manor Chambers, School Lane,
Welwyn, Herts.
Tel: 0707 326186
ABTA 94031

## MEET THE RUSSIANS

Discover glasnost for yourself, discuss perestroika, see the sights. 29th July to 11th August Leningrad, Fuchi, Moscow. Flights, accommodation and full board, special arrangements for talks and discussions — all inclusive price £589. Other destinations available. Why not send for our brochure.

## ROUTE

EUROPEAN RAIL 26 FOR UNDER 26's

## Hot Destinations, Cool Prices! ... Go By Train.

| | £ SINGLE | £ RETURN |
|---|---|---|
| PARIS | 23.50 | 45.60 |
| BRUSSELS | 18.85 | 37.70 |
| AMSTERDAM | 17.30 | 34.60 |
| COLOGNE | 24.00 | 48.00 |
| GENEVA | 42.40 | 80.80 |
| MARSEILLE | 48.00 | 89.80 |
| BARCELONA | 50.50 | 99.50 |
| VENICE | 58.50 | 116.00 |

BOOK NOW FOR THE SUMMER — PRICES HELD UNTIL END OF MAY
* ALL TICKETS VALID FOR 2 MONTHS — SOMETIMES MORE
* STOP ANYWHERE YOU LIKE ON THE WAY
* HUNDREDS MORE DESTINATIONS TO CHOOSE FROM

**WASTEELS**

121 WILTON ROAD LONDON SW1V 1JZ Tel: 01-834 7066

Or contact your local travel agent

## TURKEY FETHIYE AREA

★ VILLAS AND APARTMENTS TO LET
★ SOME ON SMALL TRAFFIC FREE ISLAND
★ YACHT AND GULET CHARTER
★ GUIDED DIVING EXCURSIONS
★ TREKKING BY FOOT OR MULE
★ FLIGHTS, CAR, MOTOR AND BICYCLE HIRE

**Adventure & Trekking holidays in small groups**
**For colour brochure:**

**BORINA**
**TAILOR MADE HOLIDAYS**
**TEL (0622) 716506**

*Contiki*

**PARADISE IN TURKEY**

Choose one or two weeks in our "away from it all" resort, or cruise the coastline in a private 60ft schooner, food wine and water sports are free – all you pay for is your bar bill.

For a brochure and details of our June special offers phone 01-290 6422.

ABTA 20305 ATOL 1274

*A long weekend* in **PARIS**

**3 days only £79**

*incl. 2 nights hotel, breakfast, exec coach, experienced tour leader, 2 full day sight-seeing inc visit to Versailles palace. DEPARTS FROM LONDON:- June 23rd, July 7th & 28th, August 11th & 26th*

**TEL (0303) 53553**
*DOLPHIN TOURS (FOLKESTONE) LTD*
**(after hours) (0303) 276605**

**TEDMANS TRAVEL**
ABTA 57973

Specialists in holidays to the socialist countries. Soviet Union, GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba. Bulgaria with Balkan Holidays. **Children free. Free insurance.** Also, Yugoslavia and Romania.
'Phone Lindy Miller
01-653 8260 (DAY)
01-699 5687 (EVE's)

**BERLIN**
**Special Offer**
**6 days £185**

**Includes: — 3 night hotel & breakfast 2 night ferry (cabins) full sight-seeing programme. Optional excursion to East Berlin, experienced tour leader. executive coach.**

**DEPART LONDON**
**JUNE 25th**
**SEPT 10th**

**Tel: (0303) 53553 or 276605**
**DOLPHIN TOURS (FOLKESTONE) LTD.**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Life Begins At Thirty

***thirtysomething*** **is the latest tv cult from across the Atlantic. As the new series gets into gear,** **Andy Medhurst** **comes clean about its special not-so-secret ingredient**

**A beacon of small-time postmodernism?**

There is a kind of delicious inevitability about this particular magazine printing an article about this particular television series. Don't they make the perfect pair? *Marxism Today*, home of the agitprop kitchen clock, mouthpiece of designer politics, and *thirtysomething*, chronicle of expense-account angst, one long howl of designer self-indulgence. Whatever happened to proper socialism – and has anyone got Ken Loach's phone number?

For those of us whose televisual diet demands more than the spartan roughage of ideological purity, *thirtysomething* has been an oasis. It takes us into the tangled lives of seven Americans of a certain age. At its centre are Hope and Michael, the ideal young marrieds and a walking testament to the powers of facial scrub.

He's joint owner of an advertising agency, she gave up her job in consumer journalism to bring up their baby daughter. Michael's business partner, Elliot, has been through the traumatic break-up of his marriage to Nancy. Ellyn, Hope's oldest friend, is trying to avoid becoming the cliché of the successful career woman who can't sustain emotional relationships, while Gary, Michael's oldest friend, teaches at the university, looks like Bjorn Borg and is determined to stay the oldest adolescent in Philadelphia. Finally there's Melissa, Michael's cousin, a photographer who has endured an on-off affair with Gary.

Everyone is white, heterosexual and very comfortably off. They live in attractive homes, eat well and don't drink too much. They probably have compact discs of Vivaldi, Dave Brubeck and Huey Lewis and the News. The sun always shines, except when it snows, but that's real pretty too. These people have life handed to them on a plate, they shouldn't have any problems. But oh, how they suffer – and how I enjoy their suffering. Coming out time: right now, *thirtysomething* is my very favourite television programme.

It's virtually impossible to discuss *thirtysomething* without using the Y-word and the P-word, so let's get it over with. To its detractors it epitomises the blithe self-centredness of yuppie America. To its more misguided admirers it is a beacon of small-screen postmodernism. Its yuppieness is hardly in question, but other minorities get their fair share of the schedule, so an hour a week for the terminally over-advantaged doesn't seem unreasonable. As for postmodernism, do we really need to wrench open that can of worms yet again?

I think we do, because *thirtysomething* is a series fascinatingly caught on the cusp between the postmodern and something much older. Those who hail it as postmodern would point to its narrative and formal playfulness, its knowing references to Hitchcock and classic Hollywood, its use of extended, expressionistic dream and fantasy sequences, the way it scatters cultural clues like so much self-reflexive confetti – but if this was all it had to offer then it would be no better than the smug, smart-alecky *Moonlighting*. Mercifully, *thirtysomething* has a saving grace that prevents it from sliding down the path to pure pastiche: it isn't afraid of emotion.

*Moonlighting* aims only to flatter its audience, to massage its viewers egos by awarding them brownie points for being hip enough to be in on the joke. A heartfelt emotion would be as welcome in *Moonlighting* as a turd on a brand new Axminster, but *thirtysomething* wants us to get involved, wants to stir us up, wants us to be (and here is where all those well-dressed, post-modern boys will start reaching for the crucifixes and the garlic) *moved*. I care about Hope and Elliot and Melissa in the way that I care about Michelle and Billy Corkhill and Rita Fairclough, because the hidden ingredient of *thirtysomething* is soap.

It's not soap in the sense of unbridled melodrama, piling on climax after breathless climax, nor does it offer the street-corner community fantasies of *Coronation Street*. Instead it's a kind of chamber soap, small groupings in beautifully lit interiors, chewing over the addictive complications of their interrelated lives. Very little actually happens in each episode. There is usually one large crisis point to kick things off (Hope's interfering parents visit, Ellyn and Melissa fall for the same man, Michael's father is dying of cancer) but the rest is response and reaction.

People in *thirtysomething* never *do* when they can *talk*. They talk and talk and talk and *talk*. It must be one of the wordiest shows on television. One of its chief pleasures is the consistently high quality of the dialogue and performances. Being Americans, most of this talk is conducted in that cautious, circumlocutory language called counselling-speak. Hence the quintessential episode to date was the one where Elliot and Nancy went to a marriage guidance counsellor. It was Bette Davis meets Freud in a plush downtown office, the perfect fusion of therapy and weepie.

So why does the series need its shiny array of post-modern tricks? They function, I think, to throw us off the scent of soap. The up-market target audience (especially the male part) needs to be wooed with cleverness, reassured that it's watching something more elevated than a mere popular genre. It's as if *thirtysomething* is anxious about its own emotional power, about the credibility of directness in this arch and desiccated age, so it walks a tightrope between good honest slush and nervous self-parody. So far it's balancing wonderfully well. ●



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# If housing matters to you, read ROOF

GERRYMANDERING THE TORY VOTE
SCOTLAND: THE EAGLE HAS LANDED
WAVING OR DROWNING?
SURVIVING BUT NOT THRIVING
BACKDOOR
GREEN BELT BARGAIN
Social housing: what do tenants want?
RAISING THE STAKES
Ujima — taking the leap into private finance

Housing has been at the forefront of this government's attacks on the public sector over the last decade. Cuts in investment, changes to the benefit rules, the privatisation of council estates — all have taken a toll on Britain's housing, and on the homeless and the badly housed who have nowhere decent to call home.

If you need to know what's happening in housing, you should be reading ROOF, Shelter's lively and influential bi-monthly housing magazine. Well researched, well written, imaginatively designed and profusely illustrated, ROOF offers the definitive analysis of key policy issues in the housing field.

Recent issues of ROOF have:

- investigated how Scottish housing is being used as 'Thatcher's dry run'
- exposed Westminster council's use of empty properties for political ends
- catalogued the scale of the problem confronting the London Labour boroughs
- analysed the difficulties faced by new black housing associations
- detailed the effects on the young homeless of benefit cuts and attacks on hostel funding
- devoted a whole issue to the future of social housing, with leading commentators giving their views on what the future could, and should, hold.

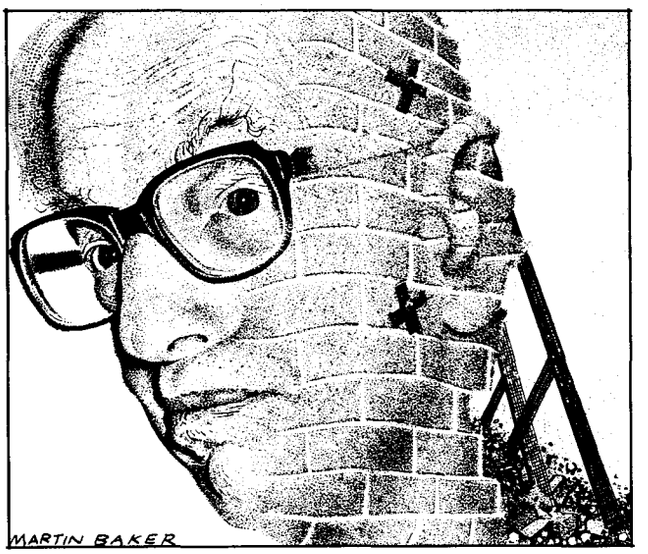
As well as first rate policy analysis, ROOF offers much more. Hard hitting news coverage, a lively letters column, a regular feature looking back on key social policy issues from a contemporary perspective, and Eavesdropper — two pages of the weird and the wonderful, the bizarre and the humorous.

Interested? If so, act now to take advantage of a special offer open only to readers of *Marxism Today*. For a limited period, and for new subscribers only, ROOF is being offered at special cut-price rates:
Institutions **£20**, Community groups **£12**,
Individuals **£10**, Students £7.

To subscribe, or for further information, write to: **Nicole Charlett, ROOF, 88 Old Street, London EC1V 9HU.**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




# Front Runner

**In *Politics For A Rational Left*, Eric Hobsbawm forcefully and convincingly argues the case for an anti-Thatcher united front. But in the late-80s, suggests David Marquand, something more than that is needed**

Eric Hobsbawm's characteristically astringent new collection of essays, **Politics For A Rational Left** *(Verso, £8.95 pbk)*, could hardly have appeared at a better moment. For 10 years now, he has been a deadly – if, at times, lonely – critic of the mixture of wishful thinking, self-indulgence and sectarian chauvinism which has helped to keep the opposition parties divided and Mrs Thatcher in power. But for most of that 10 years, the times have been against him.

With Michael Foot and General Galtieri for her to run against, only a miracle could have denied Mrs Thatcher victory in 1983. By 1987, the Lawson boom was in full swing and, in the South East and Midlands, at any rate, a vote for either opposition had all the attractions of a vote against Santa Claus.

Now the economic bubble has burst. For the first time since the early 60s, there is a sporting chance that, by the next election, the Left will be better placed to win the economic argument than the Right. Given sufficient imagination and generosity of spirit on the part of its opponents, 1991 or 1992 may see the end of the Thatcherite counter-revolution which Hobsbawm has excoriated with such mordant elegance.

The trouble, of course, is that imagination and generosity of spirit have so far been in short supply in the opposition camp. Essay after essay in this book repeats the same, self-evident, refrain: Thatcherism is dangerous; it is also serious; its devotees intend to destroy what they call socialism and what most people in this country still think of as social decency; defeating it must, therefore, be an absolute priority; since it cannot be defeated by a divided opposition, the oppositions must make common cause. The message has been delivered with force, style, wit and, so it seems to me, unanswerable logic. And all that has happened is that Hobsbawm has grown hoarse with repeating it.

What are the prospects for a change of heart? And what can be done to procure such a change? On these questions Hobsbawm's guidance is less sure. Nobody has argued the basic strategic case for a united front against Thatcherism with more lucidity or force. But – strangely in one of the greatest historians still practising in this country – he scarcely bothers to ask why it has not been accepted.

As his title implies, he takes it for granted that reason will prevail; and, like most people who think of themselves as rationalists, he also takes it for granted that reason is on his side.

On the matters under discussion, I happen to agree with him. But we will not get anywhere until we recognise that one man's reason is another man's unreason; that the small-mindedness and short-sightedness which Hobsbawm hammers so powerfully provide only part of the explanation for the divisions in the opposition camp; and, above all, that we cannot overcome them unless we understand them.

A throw-away sentence in an essay written on the eve of the last election conveys the gist of the problem. After pointing out that there is now a permanent tripartite division in British politics, Hobsbawm continues: 'It is not really a three-party system, since the middle camp has only the negative unity of not wanting to belong to the Right or to the Left. That is why support for the Alliance has normally been so much more unstable and fragile than that of either the Tories or Labour, responding disproportionately to casual short-term events and media exposure.'

On one level, that is beyond dispute, and almost everything that has happened since the last election in what used to be the Alliance camp has confirmed it. On a deeper level, the formulation betrays a dangerous misunderstanding of the sources and nature of the Alliance constituency and of the obstacles which stand in the way of the anti-Thatcher united front which Hobsbawm and I both want.

The unspoken premise – of almost all the essays in the book – is that something called 'a middle camp' still exists: that the unfamiliar language of right, left and centre still encompasses political reality; and that the 'centre' consists of confused and ambivalent folk, unable to choose between 'left' and 'right', around whom the real political struggle revolves.

I do not believe that this is true any longer, if it ever was. The massive cultural and economic transformation of our times has also transformed the political landscape which that language, however imperfectly, once described. We now inhabit a quite different landscape, the contours of which it simply cannot capture. Parts of the Labour 'Left' are now well to the right, in many senses, of much of the 'Right'; on the other hand, parts of the Labour 'Right' are as far to the right, on some issues, as most of the Conservative Party.

This is not, a kind of political parlour game, for the delectation of the *cognoscenti*. It is a function of a far-reaching paradigm shift, which is slowly transforming, not only the policy, but the culture and the economy as well. This does not invalidate the case for a united front against Mrs Thatcher. On the contrary, it strengthens it.

We are living in an extraordinarily fluid period, in which the future is more open than it has been for decades. The Thatcherites have understood that better than the Left, and, as Hobsbawm has warned more powerfully than most, they are quite capable of shaping the future in their own image if they are allowed to. But a successful united front cannot be built out of the assumptions of the old paradigm. The model of a 30s-style popular front which haunts these essays – an outward-looking working-class movement making common cause with progressives from other classes – has nothing to say to an era of class decomposition, in which the notion of a hegemonic 'movement' is out of place.

Hobsbawm deserves undying gratitude for showing so clearly that those of us who do not want the Thatcherites to shape our future will not escape from our current wilderness until we travel together. Sadly, I do not think he has found the way to the Promised Land. ●



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# READ ALL ABOUT IT!

**DAILY RACISM**
The Press and black people in Britain
*Paul Gordon and David Rosenberg*
***A new publication from the Runneymede Trust.***

**OUT NOW!**

*£3.50 plus 40p p&p.*

*Also just published:*
**CITIZENSHIP FOR SOME:**
**RACE AND GOVERNMENT POLICY 1979-89**

*£1.50 plus 25p p&p*

*Cheques/POs to the Runnymede Trust, 11 Princelet Street, London E1 6QH*

# ABC OF THATCHERISM

'It sets out in objective form what Thatcherism has meant for the economy, for families and individuals, and for the services on which so many depend....**I hope it will be read and used widely.'** *Bryan Gould MP*

Edited by Giles Wright
32 pages, illustrated.

Foreword by Bryan Gould MP
£1.95 including postage.

**Fabian Society, 11 Dartmouth Street, London SW1H 9BN**
Phone orders to 01-222 8877, quoting Visa or Access.

# Murder on the rock

How the British government got away with murder
**MAXINE WILLIAMS**

This new book is a comprehensive account of the killing of three IRA volunteers by the SAS on the streets of Gibraltar in March 1988 and the subsequent cover-up by the British government.
64pp £2.50 + p&p from
**Larkin Publications (MT)**
**BCM Box 5909, London WC1N 3XX**
*All cheques payable to Larkin Publications*

# New Times

require fresh analysis of race and ethnic relations.

*Write for AUR Publications list to: Publications (MT), CRER, University of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL*

MAJOR NEW BIOGRAPHY

# STALIN

## *Man of Contradiction*

*by Kenneth Neill Cameron.*

*An important contribution to the ongoing debate concerning the history of the Soviet Union, the role of Stalin and the contemporary development of glasnost and perestroika. A popularly written re-evaluation of the man who shaped the Soviet Union and modern history in critical ways.*

***Kenneth Neill Camerson, a Guggneheim Fellow, is Emeritus Professor of English at New York University.***

Publication: June 1989. 210 pages.
Hardback: £15.00
Paperback: £8.95

**Available from all good booksellers or direct from**
The Strong Oak Press
c/o Spa Books Ltd,
Stevenage,
Herts,
SG2 8UH
**Please make cheques payable to Spa Books. P&P £1.00**

# NATO & THE FUTURE OF EUROPEAN SECURITY

Resource Pack for Teachers

***A resource pack designed to complement teaching in history, politics and general studies courses on the subject of NATO and the Cold War.***
***The main emphasis of the pack is on the changing political situation in Europe and the future of European security.***
***The pack is structured not to give answers, but to make pupils think about these issues for themselves; to make them realise that there are no set answers to the problems that face Europe today.***

***The pack costs £5 from Martin Butcher, BASIC, 33 Southampton Street, Phone 01 379 4924***




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Old Times

**The Past Is Before Us**
*Sheila Rowbotham*
*Pandora £15.00hbk*

**The Past Is Before Us** is a history of ideas as they have emerged in feminism since the late 1960s. It is a useful piece of documentary work, ensuring that a history which could easily be marginalised and forgotten is available for re-interpretation and debate.

Sheila Rowbotham writes that 'the charting of experience can bring a sense of direction', but this is precisley what I found lacking in the book: I couldn't see where it was all leading to, and felt a sense of disappointment in having read through a piece of contemporary political history that has few implications for the future.

There are three main reasons for this lack of a sense of direction. Firstly, since the book is firmly located within socialist feminism, it shares the problems and lack of confidence of the whole of the Left. In fact it could be said that its awareness of the contradictory nature of experience and questioning of dogma puts it ahead of much of left thinking. Secondly, the women's movement is insufficiently contextualised. For example, although there are passing references to the Thatcher years, the deep changes that have occurred in that time are not acknowledged as being crucial to changes in the way people think.

Thirdly, and for me most importantly, the book is written from an unusual perspective for a historian of ideas – one that is deeply suspicious of theory. While this attitude is to a certain extent understandable – the relation between theory and practice is always a thorny problem for people engaged in politics rather than academia – homely maxims such as 'learning from doing' are not really a substitute for the serious rethinking that is needed at the moment. Sheila Rowbotham says she aims to elaborate on the 'nitty gritty of conceptualising' that she documents. But her elaborations never transcend the common sense of the movement that she records, they simply describe its dilemmas.

This is particularly frustrating since the women's movement has so much potential to help renew theories of democratic politics. Its insights have often been gained as a result of practical activity, and from talking things through in small groups outside the mainstream of political theory, as the book records. However, such insights complement and sustain new directions in theory, and feminism has also made important theoretical developments, particularly in cultural theory. The exclusion of these developments from the book is a serious shortcoming.

One particularly fruitful direction of feminist theory (influenced of course by other work, particularly black writers) has been the exploration of subjectivity, identity and difference. Because feminism has recognised the importance of subjectivity, there has been no possibility of avoiding the question of difference, as evidenced by the fierce arguments that have taken place between black and white feminists, straight and gay, working class and middle class.

The subjective terrain of much of feminist politics, as well as producing terrible rows and splits, assists in the opening up of areas of theory that could be a crucial part of beginning to work out a new politics for 'new times'. But the experiences need to be theorised as well as recorded. A book which records ideas as they are generated within a movement but refuses to move beyond this 'chronicling' will of necessity remain a partial account, giving little indication to either feminists or socialists of ways out of our current impasse. ●

*Sally Davison*

## Open Plan

**Democracy And Economic Planning**
*Pat Devine*
*Polity £29.50hbk*

Pat Devine, one suspects, could make a great deal of money hiring himself out to right-wing think tanks. One can just imagine the scene. A free-market guru gives a five-minute talk on the virtues of capitalism. Mr Devine is then asked to give a three hour lecture on the alternative – something he calls 'negotiated co-ordination'. The delegates go home, happy that capitalism is the only practicable option in this sadly imperfect world.

Mr Devine's stimulating book, **Democracy And Economic Planning**, starts from the assumption that neither Western capitalism nor Eastern statism represent acceptable ways of organising society. A third way is required and one which involves the 'conscious transformation of existing societies'.

Many on the Left have come to regard market socialism as just such a third way. But Mr Devine is unimpressed by the argument that the productive power and allocative efficiency of markets can be harnessed to serve the social needs of society. The problem in his view is that the underlying structure of market socialism is necessarily 'non-transformatory'. The coercion of market forces, even though regulated according to democratically agreed national priorities, will reinforce and reproduce alienation. People will be treated as objects rather than as self-activating subjects. Carrot and stick incentive systems will reinforce their 'narrowly self-interested consciousness'.

What is needed instead is a truly democratic economic system. This cannot involve market forces because these act blindly: those affected are not involved in taking the decisions that affect them. The only way to make a reality of self-government is by involving individuals in the conscious planning of the economy. Mr Devine therefore advocates the creation of a complex system of planning commissions and 'negotiated co-ordination' committees.

Production units in such an economy would be responsible for their day-to-day activities – for the use they make of existing capacity. But decisions about changes in capacity would be made by negotiated co-ordination bodies. Decisions would be made on the basis of economic, social and psychological data. Thus a unit which was relatively inefficient in economic terms might win support for increased capacity on the grounds that it provided a rewarding work environment. The model differs from both capitalism and statism in that people are encouraged to 'transcend their narrow self-interests'.

But would an economy consisting of myriad negotiation units actually produce anything? Would the negotiation unit handling *Marxism Today*, *The Economist* and the *Spectator* reach agreement on which publication should expand. Would anybody have an incentive to do anything during the long transition from crude profit maximisation to blissful self-actualisation?

Mr Devine criticises the market socialists for having a utopian vision. This is fair comment. Nobody thinks it will be easy to harness markets for the social good. But such a goal seems a more credible short-term objective – for both West and East – than negotiated co-ordination. This is not to say, of course, that consensus and co-operation might not eventually form the basis of social and economic life. ●

*Michael Prowse*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Lawrence and Wishart

*are looking for an*

**Editorial/Administrative worker.**

We are looking for someone interested in developing ideas and projects for books, but also willing to take a share of the administrative work, in this case accounts. The job involves one day a week on accounts, the other four days being spent on copy editing, reading manuscripts, and commissioning. We would prefer someone with publishing experience but can offer training and a good all-round introduction to publishing to applicants who have political commitment and are interested in contributing to the development of new directions at Lawrence and Wishart. We would welcome job shares or part-time applicants.

Please send for a job description and application form to
*Sally Davison,*
*Lawrence and Wishart,*
*144A Old South Lambeth Road,*
*London SW8 1XX.*

PRINT into **ACTION!**

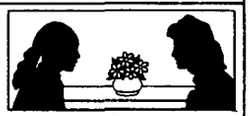
**Leaflets, stickers, posters, bulletins, broadsheets, reports ... we offer a sympathetic and competitively priced service to trade unions, the labour movement and voluntary organisations in Scotland.**

**HAMPDEN ADVERTISING LTD (TU)**

**73 ROBERTSON STREET**
**GLASGOW G2 8QD**
**Tel: 041-248 7691**
**Fax: 041-221 2017**

**ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION BY DONOR (A.I.D.)**

AVAILABLE TO ANY WOMAN
SINGLE OR MARRIED
ALL DONORS SCREENED
NO DELAYS



PAS PREGNANCY ADVISORY SERVICE
11-13 Charlotte Street, London W1.
01-637 8962

**INDEPENDENT BOOKSHOP**

FOR A GOOD RADICAL READ

**69 SURREY STREET**
**SHEFFIELD, S1 2LH**
**0742 737722**

Bookstall/
Library supply.
Mail Order.

# Need help with your mortgage payments?

**Abbey Life could help to reduce your mortgage interest payments by 30% in the first year**

How? With an Abbey Life Executive Mortgage Plan using the low-start payment scheme.
In 1988 it's likely that your interest rate was about 9.5% — by now it could possibly be about 13% — on a £30,000 mortgage, before tax relief, your interest payments could have risen therefore from £237.50 p.m. to £325 p.m.!
If you're suffering from the rapid increase in mortgage interest rates — get in touch with us and we will help reverse the effects.

Current interest rate 14.475%
**You'd be mad not to!**

*Please contact me to discuss in detail how I can reduce my mortgage payments by 30% in the first year*
Name_____
Address_____
_____ Tel. No._____

**Abbey Life**

**Home Service**
The Right Choice for Mortgages
Abbey Life Assurance Co. Ltd is a member of LAUTRO

David Nielsen
01-486 2150

# What can I do?

Join the British-Soviet Friendship Society which has branches all over the country. It is a non-party and non-sectarian organisation seeking to promote peace, friendship and trade between the USSR and Britain and increase understanding between the peoples of both countries.

**I wish to join the Society, receive *British-Soviet Friendship* magazine and enclose £5 for my annual subscription.**
**I wish to subscribe to *Soviet Union – facts and figures* and enclose £2.50 annual subscription (6 issues).**

**Name .....**
**Address .....**

**Send to BSFS,**
**36 St. John's Square,**
**London EC1.**




PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CHOICE WORDS

# African Stars

**Author Doris Lessing talks to Chris Granlund about the ways in which reading has influenced her life**

I remember sitting on the farm in Rhodesia and slowly piecing together the word c-i-g-a-r-e-t-t-e on the back of a cigarette packet and screaming, 'I can read! I can read!' And that was it. From then on I just read and read. My mother imported children's magazines from Britain, wonderful things like *Merry-Go-Round* that have just disappeared. The problem, of course, was that they were all about England and I was in Southern Rhodesia so I had this split going on right from the start. Every colonial or ex-colonial knows that it's hard to explain just what the split is.

My parents came from England and they talked about it all the time and, in their imaginations at least, continued to live a part of their lives there. It took a long time for me to realise that what I was surrounded by, what I was living and experiencing, was Africa, while from a literary point of view it was all England until I encountered writers like Olive Schreiner.

My parents were that generation of the middle class who were influenced by Wells and Shaw so in many ways they were in advance of their time. They had read a lot and all the books were there but life was hard out in the bush and they had lost their interest in reading – or at least they only read books about the first world war because that was what had marked them forever.

I left school when I was 14. I just didn't want to go anymore and so I sort of wangled out of it neurotically by saying that my eyes were no good. I then went back to the farm and read day and night. I regret not learning mathematics and languages but I'm glad that I didn't get that brain washing at school which teaches essentially the European view.

People still go out there from Europe with this very oversimplified idea of wicked exploiting farmers. And of course they are absolutely right to be shocked because it is a horrible society. I didn't actually see this clearly myself until I went to Cape Town. I was already married with a child and I met somebody who presented it all very clearly to me. Not by going for the emotions but with very simple statements like: How *odd* it is that 100,000 whites should dominate a million and a half blacks, and how *odd* it is that the church has never ever protested, how *odd* ...this quite casual questioning changed me completely. When I went back to Salisbury I joined a group of communists.

We were given the most intensive education in scepticism by very talented people out of whom I think only one remained a communist and that was my ex-husband Gottfried who later went to East Germany. The leader of our group was capable of very uncommunist behaviour in educating us neophytes. I remember reading three volumes of *Capital* and finding most of it unreadable and finding some of it bloody marvellous, though I doubt whether I'd read it again! There were also a lot of popular books like *Ten Days That Shook The World* which had a lot of influence. It was a marvellous education. These days I sometimes read *Militant* when I find them selling it in the street. It reminds me of the old times and I think, 'ah yes those were the days!' I don't agree with a word of what they say but that's not the point.

Our group fell to pieces at the end of the war when the cold war began. The party line at that time was that nothing could happen in Africa until the working class was organised, they didn't regard black nationalism as serious thing and so all the pronouncements from Moscow were rubbish. Our communism was very irreverent and mocking and sarcastic and the more ridiculous the pronouncements from Moscow, the more witty we were in mocking our own faith.

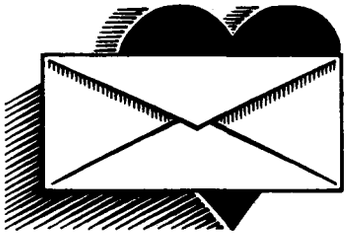
I don't like religions, you only have to look at what trouble they have caused, that terrible narrowness. I believe in god but don't ask me what that means. I have no idea what comes after life but there are so many cosmologies around that you can believe in almost anything. There is probably some kind of survival but not of an essence or core. Perhaps we are on long journies just dipping in and out of this world. If you're brought up in Africa, with those night skies and the space and the silence, it's easier to understand that possibility.

Last year I read *Chaos*. It's an impressive book about the way that things keep reorganising themselves into different patterns, different layers of order. It's fascinating. You don't have to understand all the mathematics to get glimpses of a different form of order. It's about one sort of pattern turning inexplicably into another kind. It makes you start noticing things around you that you haven't noticed before.

I am very interested in science and science fiction. The real science fiction writers take scientific ideas and develop them. *Blood Music* by Greg Bear is a good example. I was guest of honour at the World Science Fiction Congress, which really thrilled me, and I heard scientists talking to Greg Bear about his ideas. He didn't get any of the ideas wrong but he pushed them beyond any probability. If you read it you suddenly get a vision of how a scientist sees. It's classic science fiction and a fantastic kind of knowledge. When I was on the farm we didn't separate literature off from science. If you're working all the time with minerals and soils, science is always there. And if you sit out watching the stars night after night, you can't fail to start thinking about what's going on out there. ●



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



# Marketplace

Whether you're looking for love, offering enlightenment or desperately seeking sardines (Albanian), then Marxism Today's classified section is THE place to see and be seen. Through us you can reach 55,000 men and women from diverse walks of life, all shades of the Left and all parts of the country.
Booking your advertisement is easy: just call Tim Middleton on **01-608 0265**, or send it in the post, remembering to include your name, address, phone number and a cheque for the appropriate amount. (VAT is 15% extra.) And if your advertisement doesn't seem to fit any of the sections you see here, then we'll invent a new one, just for you!

**Don't temporise: Advertise!**
**(NB: Temporise, *v.i.* adopt indecisive or time-serving policy; avoid committing oneself, act so as to gain time; comply temporarily with requirements of occasion ...)**

**Marxism Today Marketplace – you'd be a fool not to**

## MT HEARTS

● **Intelligent,** not uncomplicated, adventurous, attractive, generous woman, 30, with a sense of humour: Interests – politics, current affairs, anthropology, arts, cinema, cats, hillwalking, skiing. Seeks loving permanent relationship with active, intellectually minded man. Edinburgh area. Photo appreciated. Box 12.

● **Fancy a holiday** in the sun? Male socialist (38), presentable, intelligent, articulate, interested in politics and life seeks female holiday companion and friend, South Wales area. Box 22.

● **Male Vegan** (32). Likes include music (Punk/Glam) and cats. Seeks sensual girlfriend to cohabit with. Cardiff area. Box 24

● **Male (39),** slim, tall. Varied interests. Seeks an affectionate, caring and genuine female for a loving relationship. *London/anywhere. Box 23.*

● **Male student,** 20, seeks female accompaniment for cinema, jazz, cycling in London. Box 25.

## MT EVENTS

● **National:** Marxism Today is beginning preparatory work on our national event for 1989. This will take place at City University, London over the weekend October 27/28/29. If you would like to get involved in any capacity please get in touch. No previous experience necessary, just lots of enthusiasm, initiative and imagination. Phone Mark Perryman on (01) 608 0265 or write to MT (Events) 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.

● **National:** "Marxism Today – Live." A national conference to discuss and develop Marxism Today Discussion Groups and Events. A combination of practical and discussion sessions. On Saturday June 3, at 16 St John Street, London EC1. For full details and registration form contact Mark Perryman on (01) 608 0265 or write MT Live, 16 St John Street, London EC1M 4AY.

● **Wolverhampton:** Marxism Today discussion group meets third Tuesday every month, CCR building, 2, Clarence Rd, Wolverhampton. 7.30pm.

● **Manchester:** Marxism Today Discussion Group meets on the third Wednesday of every month, 7.45pm at Chorlton Park Evening Centre, Mauldeth Road. For details, phone (061) 445 6333.

● **Dundee & Tayside:** Marxism Today Discussion Group meets monthly. For details of meetings, ring, (0382) 644835.

● **Sheffield:** Marxism Today readers group meets regularly. For details ring B. Davidson, (0742) 500613.

● **York:** Marxism Today discussion group meets fortnightly. Contact Chris Perring on 0904-33936.

● **Leeds:** "Beyond 1992 – New Times for Europe". Discussion meeting with David Marquand, member of SLD Policy Committee and author of "The Unprincipled Society". On Thursday June 1st, 8pm at Leeds TUC Club, Saville Mount, Leeds 7. Organised by Leeds Marxism Today Forum, further details (0532) 435150.

● **Kent:** "New Times in Kent". A Day of discussion and debate. On Saturday July 1st at Penge East Community Centre. Organised by Kent CP in association with Marxism Today. For details write to Kent MT Event, 48 Luton Rd, Chatham, Kent. Tel (0634) 402515/55287.

● **Liverpool:** "A New British Road to Socialism?" Discussion with Nina Temple and Charlie Leadbeater. At MTURC, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool 1 on Saturday June 17th. Organised by Merseyside CP in association with Marxism Today.

● **Scotland:** Major Day Event being planned for the Autumn on the future of the Scottish Economy. For details contact Whats Left, 13 Hampden Terrace, Glasgow G42. Tel: (041) 649 7433.

● **Derby:** Marxism Today Discussion Group being formed. If interested please contact, Paul Williams, 5 Laburnam Crescent, Swanwick, Derbyshire.

● **Ilford:** Discussion Meeting on Electoral Pacts with David Green, Communist Party Executive Cttee. On Thursday June 1st, 8pm at Ilford Central Library, Clements Rd, Ilford. Organised by Redbridge Marxism Today Group.

● **Haringey:** All Sisters Together? Discussion on Feminism and the politics of difference. Speakers include, Jane Taylor, Marxism Today Deputy Editor. On Tuesday June 20th, 8pm, at Hornsey Library, Haringey Park, Crouch End, London N8. Organised by Haringey Marxism Today Group.

## MT HANDS

**Moving through, to or in the North? Phone**
**UP-ROUTE REMOVALS CO-OP LTD**
**• Full house/office removal.**
**• Packing, storage and light haulage.**
**• Pianos, artwork and antiques.**
**Tel: Leeds (0532) 420257**
**Up-routes is a mixed workers collective.**

**HOBDAY'S HANDYMAN**
**A team of expert craftsmen to solve all your home maintenance problems. Plumbers, carpenters, bricklayers and roofers. We are based in South West London. We specialise in small works and personal service. A co-operatively managed organisation.**
**Ring 01-720 9632 for prompt service.**

## TRAVEL/HOLIDAYS

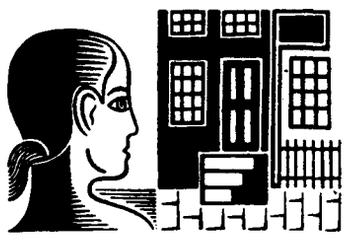
**WORKING WEEKENDS ON ORGANIC FARMS**
**Midweek, Longterm and overseas stays also available.**
**Send SAE to WWOOF, 19 Bradford Rd., Lewes, E. Sussex BN7 1RB.**

**Edinburgh Central Luxury Flat**
**Every mod. con. 2 doubles.**
**29 July to 12 Aug. £120pw**
**13 - 27 Aug (Festival) £180 pw**
**Tel. 031 556 1083**

## COURSES

● **The Centre for Cultural and Critical Theory** offers a taught MA and PhD supervision. Poststructuralism, post-modernism, cultural politics of race and gender. Contact Dr Catherine Belsey, School of English, University of Wales, College of Cardiff, PO Box 94, Cardiff CF1 3XE.

**UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK**
**Industrial Relations Research Unit**
**One year course in Industrial Relations and doctoral research. Details from Richard Hyman, IRRU, University of Warwick, Coventry.**



## MT HOMES

● **House in Perugia** (Italy) for exchange. Six + months from September. Spacious 3 bedroom house with garden on the outskirts of Perugia, site of university for foreigners, 2 hours drive from Rome or Florence, suitable for families, in return for similar accommodation in London. Tel Derek Boothman 010 3975 28187 (evenings).

● **MAISONETTE:** For sale – modern, purpose built maisonette, London E8 (Hackney) in quiet cul-de-sac, easy bus and rail access to central London, two bedrooms, large living room, luxury fitted kitchen, bathroom, double glazing, carpeted, gas and storage heating, large boarded loft, own sunny garden, £68,000 for quick sale, no chain. Leasehold. Tel: 01-254-9508 (eve and weekends).

## TRADE UNIONS

● **Trade Union** and Campaign banners, flags, T-shirts, etc. Details (01) 281 0772.

## NICARAGUA

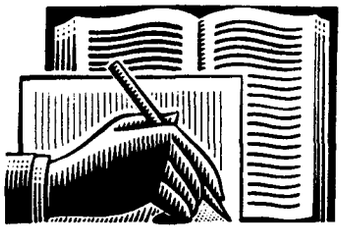
**NICARAGUAN WORK BRIGADES**
**The Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign are sending four coffee brigades for six weeks each from November 1989 to February 1990. You will be sharing the lives of Campesinos in the mountains of Nicaragua and helping with their main export crop. A programme of educational meetings will be arranged. Full details from: NSC, 23 Bevenden Street, London N1 6BH. Tel. (01) 253 2464**

## ALBANIA

**A revisionist Ref. and Repression in Kosovo. Find out about these and other matters at The Albanian Shop, 3 Betterton St., Covent Garden, London WC2H. New stocks of books, flags, videos, original paintings and caricatures and Qepujka (pickled onions).**



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



## MT BOOKSHELVES

● **Hammersmith Books.** World-Famous mail-order service since 1948. 100,000 O.P. titles. 01-876 7254 (24hrs) High Street SW13 9LR.

● **Central Books:** Exceptionally well-stocked with new and secondhand books. Also cards, posters, T-shirts, etc. Personal mail-order service. Open 10-6 Monday to Friday, 10-5 Saturdays. 37 Grays Inn Rd, London, WC1X 8PS. Tel. 01-242 5166.

● **Review Copies** and other books in fine condition bought and sold by Vermillion Books at reduced prices. 57 Red Lion Street, London, WC1. Telephone 01-242 5822.

● **One third discount** on new Politics/ Economics books from Breffni van Masterbergen, 51 Hanworth Road, Feltham, Middx, TW13 5AX. Monthly lists. Review copies purchased. Tel. (01) 890 9421.

● **Key Books Birmingham.** 136 Digbeth B5 6DR. Tel 021 643 8081. Marxism, Feminism, Black Studies and books on the environment. Non racist/sexist children's books. Magazines & cards. Monday to Saturday 9.30-5.30.

● **News from Nowhere** – Radical and Feminist Bookshop. 112 Bold Street, Liverpool, L1. Tel. 051 708 7270.

● **Catalogue of secondhand** radical literature available from Philip Walden, PO Box 120, London, E8 2PU. Tel. 01 241 0949.

● **Emma's Community Bookshop,** Swansea. Best stock of Feminism, Gay, Socialist, Anarchist books in Wales. 19 Bryn-y-Mor Road. Tel. 0792 476901.

● **Acorn Bookshop.** Berkshire's only radical bookshop. Mail order lists available. 17 Chatham Street, Reading. Tel. 0734 584425.

● **Alternative Bookshop Bath.** Best selection of psychology books outside London. Also New Age magazines, music tapes for relaxation. Swift mail order service. 15 Margaret's Buildings, Bath, Avon, BA1 2LP. Tel. 0225 334299. Open 10-6 all week.

## MT MUSIC

● **Soviet and Balkan music** – send SAE for catalogue to TOUCH, 13 Osward Road, London SW17. Tel. (01) 767 2368

## HELP

● **The Carlos Calderon Defence Campaign** urgently need your help. Carlos Calderon, a Peruvian party member, is seeking asylum in this country: he faces imprisonment, torture and possible execution if he returns to Peru. A deportation order has been served on him. The CCDC urgently requires individuals to write to the authorities on his behalf. Please contact the Carlos Calderon Defence Campaign, 23 The Close, London SW4 0NP. Tel. 0249 3768. Or 'phone Annapurna Waghary on 01 556 1092 (HOME) 01 720 9811 (WORK).

## EVENTS

**DISCUSS THE NEW "BRITISH ROAD"**
**with E.C. members Gerry Pocock, Bill Innes, Nina Temple and others.**
**Weekend School for Midlands and North, Birmingham, from Friday evening June 23rd to Sunday teatime June 25th, £18 covers accommodation and meals. £5 booking fee to Dave Priscott, 104 Acre Road, Leeds LS10 4DF.**
**(Org. by CPGB)**

● **200th anniversary of the French Revolution.** Fete de l'Humanite. September 8th to 11th. Coach from Lewisham will be going to support the Party stall. Contact Martin Leete, 11 Heather Road, Lee, London SE12 0UG. Tel: 01 698 9112.

● **Manchester Forum:** dialogue for the democratic opposition 'Life after Thatcher' series continues Wed. 7th June with Stuart Hall: 'Left, Right & Centre – New Demands and Old Politics. 7.45pm Conference Room, Manchester Town Hall. Admission £1.50 (75p unwaged). Contact: 061 434 8930

**MANCHESTER FORUM:**
**ONE DAY CONFERENCE**
**'Democracy in Crisis',**
**Saturday 25th June, 11am to 5pm.**
**Manchester Town Hall.**
**Programme includes: David Beetham on 'What Should Democracy mean today?'; Workshops and an opposition party panel discussion on perspectives for democratic reform. Admission £1.50 (75p unwaged). Contact 061 434 8930**

● **Women, Perestroika & the USSR.** Special women's tours. Moscow & Leningrad. February or March 1990. 7 nights. £549. Details from PO Box 171, Liverpool L69 8DB.

**SPECIAL INTEREST WEEKENDS**
**New Shoots from Old Roots, with Anne Pettit 9 - 11 June**
**Anne led the first women to Greenham; now she asks "What should women at the grass roots be doing today?"**

**Plugging into Power, with Clive Ponting 21 - 23 July**
**Clive, Belgrano whistle-blower, looks at power: What is it? Who has it? How can we get it?**
**Friday supper – Sunday lunch, £70. £10 deposit**
**Maenllwyd, Llangynog, Camarthen, SA33 5JA. Tel: 0267 82278**

● **Paris for the 200th Anniversary of the Revolution.** Explore the history and contemporary significance of the revolution, and join in the festivities. Escorted. 8th-15th July. A.E.S.T, 49 The Mall, Faversham, ME13 8EW. 0795-539744 (24 hrs).

**Inaugural Kensington & Chelsea Summer Marxist Lecture**
**"TROTSKYISM. A DEAD IDEOLOGY?"**
**by Monty Johnstone ,**
**Marxist Historian and writer on Soviet Affairs.**
**8pm Wednesday 28th June 1989**
**Westway Luncheon Club**
**Ladbroke Grove Tube**
**Phone 373-9897 for more information and or a ticket (50p)**

**DANESCOURT. TORQUAY.**
**Small smart guest house. Satellite T.V.**
**Close to all amenities.**
**Vegetarians catered for.**
**Phone Maureen: 0803-294789.**

● **Women's Sailing Holidays.** Comfortable 35ft yacht. Beginners welcome. Brochure: 'phone (0703) 636 749.

**VEGETARIANS**
**Walk, ride, sail or just come and relax in our peaceful coastal farmhouse overlooking Snowdonia.**
**Warm informal atmosphere, delicious Vegetarian/Vegan food.**
**En-suite rooms, books, log-fires.**
**Small conferences catered for.**
**Brochure 0248-78395.**

## FOR SALE

● **James Connolly,** Irish Socialist leader – A bust in off-white stone cast; limited number, £25.50. From Celtic Arts and Crafts, 27, Ballyraine Park, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, Ireland.

● **Women Live** – The magazine that changes Women's Lives – 'Women's reality expressed with startling directness' Spare Rib; 'Gives a matchless opportunity for ordinary women to write about their lives' Morning Star. Annual subscription £7 (4 issues) from: WLMT, 5 Middle Hill road, Colehill, Wimborne, Dorset, BH21 25A.

## THERAPY

● **Caring experienced psychotherapist** for problems or growth. Carole Grace B.A., BSc., 01 743 8096 (24 hrs).

● **Feminist therapist and counsellor.** Couples and individuals, sliding scale of fees, Tel. Ruth Jordan on 01-249 0897

RATES AND DATES

● A "lineage" entry looks like this. It costs 50p per word, plus 15% vat.

**This is an example of a semi-display advertisement. It costs £7.00 per column centimetre. So because this is 2cms deep it costs £14.00 plus 15% VAT.**

Box numbers are free. Entries and replies are strictly confidential. When answering a box number, write your letter to the advertiser, then seal it in an envelope and mark the box no. in pencil in the top left-hand corner. Put a stamp on this envelope. Then place it in another envelope, put a stamp on that and send it to: Marketplace, Marxism Today, 16 St John St., London EC1M 4AY.
**Deadline for the July issue:**
5th June 1989

## Contributors

**Martin Kettle** writes for *The Guardian.*
**Caroline Harris** is a freelance journalist.
**Don Mathew** is a writer on transport and the environment.
**Beatrix Campbell** is a writer and broadcaster and a member of *Marxism Today*'s Editorial Board.
**Bill Morris** is deputy general secretary of the TGWU.
**Frank Cottrell Boyce** is a writer.
**Kenneth Clarke MP** is secretary of state for health.
**Steve Iliffe** is a general practitioner and the author of *Strong Medicine.* (Lawrence & Wishart)
**Stuart Hall** is the author of *The Hard Road To Renewal,* a member of the Marxism Today editorial board, and a spokesperson for Charter 88.
**David Held** is senior lecturer in social science at the Open University and author of *Models Of Democracy.*
For details of the participants in the conversation, see p24.
**Rosalind Coward** is a freelance writer and author of *The Whole Truth, The Myth Of Alternative Health* (Faber & Faber).
**Neil Spencer** is assistant editor of *Arena* magazine and contributes regularly to *The Observer* and *Sanity.*
**Sally Hibbin** is the author of *The Making Of Licence To Kill: The Inside Story Of The Latest 007 Blockbuster* (Hamlyn, forthcoming) and the producer of the BAFTA award-winning series *A Very British Coup.*
**Patrick Marmion** is a freelance writer.
**Andy Medhurst** is a freelance writer on the media and popular culture. He was 30 in January.
**David Marquand** is professor of politics at Salford University and author of *The Unprincipled Society* (Jonathan Cape)
**Sally Davison** works for Lawrence & Wishart.
**Michael Prowse** is a leader and feature writer on the *Financial Times.*
**Doris Lessing** is an author. A collection of her writings *The Doris Lessing Reader* (Jonathan Cape) is to be published in July.
**Joseph Bristow** is a member of the centre for popular culture at Sheffield City Polytechnic.

**Additional contributions to this issue:**
**Production:** Anthony Callan, Apala Chowdhury, James Goodman, Brenda Harrison, Nanette Herbert, Rachel O'Brien, Jonathan Jaye, Joe Painter, Chris Pate, Frixos Tombolis
**Research:** Rachel O'Brien
**Promotions:** Nigel Harrison, Yashi Shah, Halif Turhanli.
**Events:** Paul Driscoll, Daniel Moonman, Paul Philipou, Adam Ferris, Donna Smith.



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Julian Clary

Are you a Mincing Machine? That is what Julian Clary asks at the end of his act. Here he is, the man who can mince like no other, quip about how daft it was attempting the Matterhorn in slingbacks, and still manage not to put himself down. 'Uncanny' and 'unnatural' he may claim to be but his cabaret generously controls whatever hostility he might arouse. He may look and sound like a poofter but he's really rather nice. And he knows that just as much as you do.

In the driest camp delivery and zaniest of costumes, Julian Clary sends himself up better than anyone else. And it's this that distinguishes him from the sit-com and show-biz queens of the 70s who could let their wrists go limp in a tv studio but never dare to set foot at Gay Pride. (Remember those cringeing squeals of 'Oh what a gay day' and 'Are you being served?'. Hardly encouragement for those of us who wanted to step – rather than mince – out of the closet.)

It's hard to get away with laughing at the Joan Collins Fan Club. You laugh with him instead. Although his stage act doesn't refer to *Dynasty*'s Alexis that much, the blusher on his cheeks is his key reference-point: to a melodrama that almost seems camp by accident. Joan's fans are also Julian's. And since his image is based in popular telly, it made perfect sense for him to appear on LWT's recent quiz show parody, *Trick Or Treat*.

**'He presents an image the tabloids would love to hate, except that his script is better than their copy'**

Julian Clary doesn't want to be tolerated as an alternative comedy queen. In fact, it's the other way round. With his killing one-liners, he positively asserts himself in a prejudiced world that would use Section 28 to put an end to his show. None of us has either the brains or the looks to fend off abuse as succesfully as he does. With great composure, and careful timing, he presents an image the tabloids would love to hate, except that his script is better than their copy. If Larry Grayson and John Inman seemed grotesquely self-oppressed, Julian Clary shows you why. They had something to hide. Julian hasn't. He is an out gay man. And that is his strongest resource.

Parody is his mode. Never for one moment does he let us imagine that how he looks and acts is anything but a send-up of how bigots would like him to be. You don't glimpse the 'real' Julian Clary underneath the cosmetics. Instead, he masters our gaze on his post-modern attire, mixing up 14-hole patent leather Doc Martens with luminous cycle shorts. His props include a fluffy pink truncheon as a defence against Manchester's police chief, James Anderton.

Clary's achievement is to be political without getting tedious. And this puts a new gloss on his frequent use of smut. All those really funny jokes on 'erections' and 'behinds' are 'exposed' for what they are: send-ups of the vulgarity to be found on the regular club circuit. He reminds us, all the time, how stupid 'straight' humour is.

Increasing numbers of punters now find themselves strangely attracted, as he would say, to what he does. From more traditional work on the stage, he moved into the alternative club scene, found his way to the Edinburgh Fringe, and ended up on tv. But his act had to be adjusted for the LWT programme he hosted with the man with the mail-order catalogue looks, the innocuous Mike Smith. *Trick or Treat* was nothing like as sophisticated as Julian's own stage performance. The Joan Collins Fan Club got more applause than Radio One's DJ.

**Joan Collins Fan Club: Strangely attracting the punters**

*Trick Or Treat* has been his initiation into the mainstream. He has a series planned to go ahead on Channel Four, provisionally called *Sticky Moments With Julian Clary*. How come now is the time to have a gay man in front of the family while they're eating their tea? Will he turn a nation of young Mike Smiths into bum-boys?

The answer is obvious. He will help us to 'relieve ourselves'. (If only he did the *Breakfast Show* on Radio One ...) Unlike Mike Smith, Julian is, of course, a talented person. His exotic presence tells you that Mike is as brain-dead as the blue-eyed heart-throb next door. While Mike reels off bad jokes from the autocue, Julian shows what it takes to powerdress with wit. His is the last laugh on a tv culture tired to death with being so safe and so straight. If Julian can be popular, what hope is there for an endless schedule of bland quiz shows on deregulated tv? He's now well placed to brighten up a wet Sunday on the box. ●

*Joseph Bristow*



PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

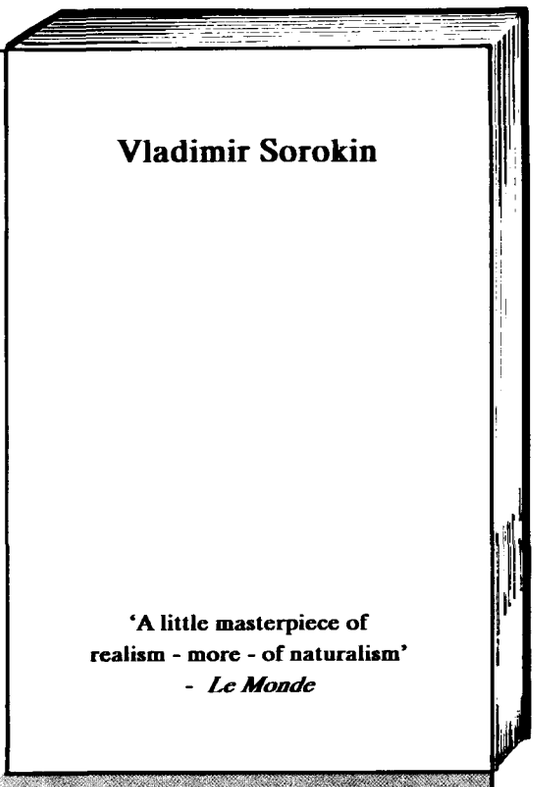
(for only £5, plus p&p)

**READERS INTERNATIONAL (RI) publish world literature. The very best. Year after year. Subscribe to RI's annual series of six hardcover volumes - at paperback prices - and we'll send you the Nobel Prize Winner Joseph Brodsky's new book, *To Urania*...the Nobel Edition of his works...absolutely .**

Soviet households spend one man-month a year queuing up. See *homo sovieticus* from the pavement upwards: read Vladimir Sorokin's *The Queue,* a jeu d'esprit of muscovites Waiting for Glasnost. "If queues were arranged in order of merit," says *The Guardian,* "Sorokin would be at the head."

With an annual subscription we'll send you - FREE and in hardback - the Nobel Edition of Joseph Brodsky's new and collected pieces, *To Urania.* Hear the sea-roar of Brodsky's majestic Russian, rendered into our language in close collaboration with the Nobel Laureate himself - a writer with "a formidable, sinuous command of English." *(Time)*

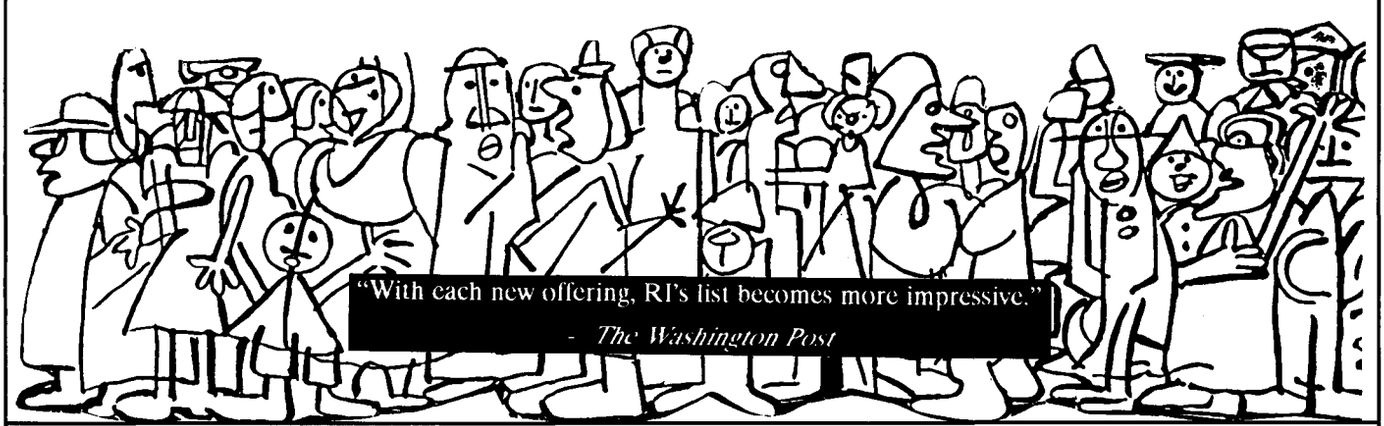
**RI**'s recent titles include *El Infierno,* Uruguay, "the **best** piece of writing to cross this desk in 1988" *(Glasgow Herald); The World Elsewhere,* India, "the **best** fiction I've read in two years of round-ups. Nuff said" *(City Limits);* and *Fools,* South Africa, "**surpasses anything else** in South African fiction" *(Village Voice).* Coming titles include the best fiction from South Korea, Morocco, Argentina and Brazil.




'A powerful book' - *Glasgow Herald*
'Displays genuine zest' - *The Times*
'Brilliantly executed, moving and satisfying' - *Philadelphia Inquirer*
'Genuinely witty...this line & the Soviet Union' - *The Village Voice*

**RI** works like a magazine subscription. Every other month you get a timely new book: handsome hardcover editions at the special subscriber price of £5.00, plus £1 p&p. Many were banned at home or written in exile: RI is committed to publishing literature in danger. Give these powerful writers a voice in English. Return the coupon without delay.

*"A splendid and important enterprise and worth supporting."* - The Financial Times




## READERS INTERNATIONAL

c/o Marxism Today, 16 St John Street, London EC1

Please begin my subscription to RI with *The Queue,* at the special £6.00 subscriber price, including p&p. I'll get RI's newest title every other month at the same special price. I may cancel at any time.

Name

Address

Town Code Country

☐ Payment enclosed of £6.00 (£7.50 overseas) for my first volume, *The Queue.* (In North America, send US$10.95/Can$13.75 to RI, P.O.Box 959, Columbia LA 71418.)

**SPECIAL SAVINGS and FREE BOOK:**

☐ **I want my free Nobel Prize Winning book *To Urania.* Payment enclosed of £30 inland, US$55, Can$65, £37 sterling elsewhere (Girobank acct. no. 53 948 8909) for an annual subscription. I get RI's six newest titles from the world over, plus Joseph Brodsky's *To Urania,* FREE.** M 18

Artwork by Jan Brychta

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WHAT WOULD MAKE YOU JOIN FRIENDS OF THE EARTH?

| | Tick Box |
|---|---|
| Air pollution? | |
| Protecting the ozone layer? | |
| Pesticides in drinking water? | |
| Nuclear dumping? | |
| Tropical de-forestation? | |
| Destruction of the countryside? | |
| Inner city regeneration? | |

MTGC

## HELP THE EARTH FIGHT BACK

**If you've ticked even one of these threats to life on Earth, you should put your tick here too.**

**Name** _____ **I enclose £12 membership** ☐

**Address** _____ **I enclose a donation of**

_____ **£10** ☐ **£25** ☐ **£50** ☐ **Other** ☐

**Send to Friends of the Earth Ltd, FREEPOST, Melksham, Wilts., SN12 7BR. No Stamp needed.**

FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

## FRIENDS OF THE EARTH

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED